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The Shape of Things

NO ONE CAN PROVE THAT THE CRISIS AT the Anzio beachhead was responsible for the sudden suspension of Turkey's negotiations with Britain. A dozen factors may have combined to end the hope that Turkey would soon be in the war on the Allied side. But factors that loom large in an hour of adversity diminish when things are going well. No one knows this better than the German strategists. Their reasons for throwing some of their best troops into the fighting around Anzio were political even more than military. And the effect of the German attack will not be lost even if the Allied forces eventually crash through. For the setback suffered by the British and Americans was enough to remind the whole world that the fight for Fortress Europe, scarcely begun, will be bitter and hazardous. As the Germans pushed toward the beachhead, Turkey inevitably weighed with greater caution the benefits and dangers involved in active belligerency. Franco very likely came to the gratifying conclusion that he need not go quite so far in placating the Allies. Hitler's battered satellites in Eastern Europe doubtless realized more clearly that they could not hope for a quick and easy sell-out—*à la* Badoglio—to a victorious enemy. Thus the secondary political-military effects of the Anzio battle have greatly outweighed its immediate military importance. Hitler is fighting in Italy not for Italy but for Europe.

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NOW THAT GENERAL DE GAULLE AND HIS Committee of National Liberation are about to come into their own, we refuse to let even the New York *Times* spoil the occasion. It is a bit of a jolt all the same to read in its pious editorial columns that the impending recognition of the committee as the provisional government of France is precisely what the *Times* editors always had in mind, and that "the time has come" for this "next step in the logical evolution of our policy toward France." The Vichy policy and the whole campaign of expediency, it now appears, were tactics designed to achieve this noble purpose, and they have been "brilliantly justified by the results." We hailed Pétain as the George Washington of France and damned De Gaulle's followers only because we could not bring ourselves to the "abandonment of France in the first shock

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of her fall." The years in which we shored up the petty tyrant Robert in Martinique and blasted the Free French seizure of St. Pierre; in which we sent the traitor Peyrouton to administer Morocco and arrested De Gaullist sailors in the streets of New York—these were years of "watchful waiting." When month after month we and the British forbade De Gaulle to set foot in North Africa, we were merely marking time "until the dissident elements worked out a modus vivendi." Our invitation to Giraud to visit Washington at a time when Churchill and our State Department vied with each other in heaping abuse on De Gaulle through the medium of favored journalists was just one of the ways in which "the strength of General de Gaulle's leadership was being tested." Now that he has passed the *Times* test, the General is entitled at least to ask his new champions the classic question: "Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me downstairs?"

✶

A PRESIDENTIAL VETO OF THE TAX BILL IS not generally expected, but if Mr. Roosevelt signs the measure it will doubtless be because he feels that the government dare not run the risk of losing even the small amount of revenue it provides. The amount at stake, however, is even less than is commonly realized. While the bill provides for an increase in revenues of $2,315,200,000 a year, as against the $16,000,000,000 originally requested, this gain is offset by a loss of $1,400,000,000 through a cancelation of the automatic increase in the social-security tax rate. Moreover, several hundreds of millions will be lost through loopholes provided for corporations in the technical provisions of the bill. And still further millions will in all probability be lost through changes in the provisions governing the renegotiation of war contracts. While the most objectionable of the proposed changes were eliminated from the measure before its final passage, the bill now before the President will hamper the government in its efforts to minimize war profiteering. In contrast, its provisions will place an additional burden on the low-income groups through an elimination of the earned-income credit and a heavy concentration on excise taxes. The indefensible victory tax is retained, with all its shortcomings, even though little additional revenue is produced by reason of its lower exemptions. Since the bill violates all the principles of sound taxation, the President would be justified in risking the loss of a few hundred million dollars of revenue in order to place the issue squarely before the American people by a stinging veto message.

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FINLAND HAS ONCE AGAIN BEEN WARNED by Secretary Hull that if it continues in the war it must take the consequences. Authoritative voices in London have declared that it can expect no terms better than unconditional surrender. And from Russia has come the most emphatic reminder of the country's disastrous situation in the shape of bombs falling on Helsinki. Mr. Hull's note, when published after several days' delay, inspired a number of editorials in the Finnish press urging an exploration of the possibilities of peace. Reports from Stockholm, however, suggest that the outlook is regarded by the Finns with extreme pessimism, since the acceptance of any terms from Russia would involve them in conflict with Germany. The Nazis have a vital interest in Finnish nickel, in addition to a military interest in maintaining the 1,000-mile northern front. They still have a number of divisions in the country, and they can also enforce their wishes by their control of food supplies. Thus Finland finds itself in a hopeless impasse; victory has long been out of the question and now even peace is impossible. The only way for the Finns to save something from the wreck would be to come to terms with Moscow and join hands with the Red Army in expelling the Germans. Since this move would be worth a number of divisions to Russia, it might secure greater leniency. But such a policy could only be effected if the Mannerheim-Ryti-Tanner combination which has led Finland into its appalling situation were repudiated. The one encouraging sign is that opposition to the government controlled by these men is growing. On January 22, it avoided defeat in the Riksdag by only two votes. A new government might be headed by Dr. Juho Paasikivi, known to be *persona grata* in Moscow, whose visit to Stockholm has started a flood of peace rumors.

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TIME HAS NOT SERVED TO QUIET THE hornets' nest stirred up by Sidney Hillman's plan to rejuvenate the American Labor Party. On the contrary, the resentment aroused by his proposal to convert the party into a strictly trade-union machine, with Communistic representation, has spread from right-wing A. L. P. circles and created divisions within the C. I. O. itself. The president of one C. I. O. union has openly condemned the Hillman plan, an official of another union has resigned rather than have a hand in the business, and thirty other officers have drafted a statement pledging to support the C. I. O. Political Action Committee nationally but to "fight every attempt of the Communists to capture the A. L. P. in our state." Among those C. I. O. leaders who are nominally backing Mr. Hillman, moreover, several have privately expressed views on his strategy which range from the disgruntled to the bitter. The Political Action Committee has too important a task to perform in the 1944 campaign, and is altogether too worth-while an undertaking, to be burdened with the factional consequences of further mishandling of the New York situation. Mr. Hillman admittedly had a delicate organizational problem on his hands in this state, as Robert Bendiner pointed out in *The Nation* of January 1, but he has not displayed his

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customary shrewdness in solving it. The six weeks that remain before the primaries promise to be weeks of bitter disunity for the labor and liberal forces of New York.

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THE ABUSES IN RAILROAD MANAGEMENT disclosed by Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge in his testimony before the Kilgore committee will continue to exist so long as the roads continue to be operated by combinations of bankers. Berge dealt principally with the secret agreement by which the roads west of the Mississippi blocked rate reductions, slowed up the introduction of better equipment, and squelched the more progressive minority in their own ranks. The agreement was entered into in 1932 and was "reputedly canceled" after the Department of Justice found out about it in 1943. That an agreement of this kind could be enforced for a decade without the knowledge of the Interstate Commerce Commission indicates how nearly moribund the federal regulatory body has become. Other testimony, dealing with recent railroad accidents, indicates that the ICC's failure to enforce its safety orders and recommendations played a part in recent train wrecks. Four of these wrecks occurred at points where the ICC had previously recommended improved communication and signaling systems. One may also ask whether the Department of Justice will be content merely to discuss these matters before a Senate investigating committee or will take vigorous measures to enforce the anti-trust laws against the railroads. Thurman Arnold tried to do so—and was "kicked upstairs" to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for his pains.

*

ONE WAY TO EASE MAN-POWER PROBLEMS would be to eliminate the general use of cost-plus contracts. We are glad to note that a Senate Military Affairs subcommittee under Senator Murray of Montana has begun a special inquiry into these contracts. The investigation has the indorsement of both Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the WPB, and Paul McNutt, chairman of the WMC. In his report on the West Coast man-power situation, Bernard Baruch declared that a shift from cost-plus contracts "ought to give us the equivalent of an additional labor force running into the tens of thousands, perhaps the hundreds of thousands." Since the government foots the bill under cost-plus there is no incentive to economize on materials, facilities, or labor, and "more workers are hired than are needed." There are undoubtedly many special cases in which cost-plus contracts are necessary: particularly in farming out work to smaller businesses—where they are rarely used. But we feel that the time has passed when cost-plus contracts were generally necessary, and that Congress should enact Senator Ferguson's bill to end this sort of arrangement.

THE ACTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE United Service Organizations, Chester I. Barnard, forbidding the YMCA to distribute in USO centers "The Races of Mankind," a pamphlet which presents science's answer to Hitler's dogma of racial superiority, has had encouraging repercussions. First, the army itself bought a substantial number of the pamphlets for use in its educational courses. And now the National C. I. O. War Relief Committee, one of the largest contributors to the USO through the National War Fund, has announced that it will mail copies of the pamphlet to all service men on its mailing list who are stationed in this country. This action was taken after a conference with Mr. Barnard in which the latter reaffirmed his belief that a study of the scientific facts with respect to alleged racial differences was "controversial." No such objection was raised, however, to the distribution by the USO of articles by the eminent social scientist Eddie Rickenbacker.

Arabian Oil

MR. ICKES'S plan for government assistance to American oil companies enabling them to exploit their Arabian concessions more extensively is headed for trouble. Some people object to a scheme which promises bonanza profits to the oil companies while the government takes all the risks; many others fear the political implications of a large public investment in a notoriously explosive region; oil interests not cut in on the deal protest it as the opening wedge of socialization. With pressure thus developing from three different directions, a full Congressional investigation appears inevitable.

Such an investigation is in our opinion highly desirable, for whatever the merits of the Arabian development plan, it represents a new departure in American foreign economic policy which ought to be subject to public debate. Nor can any conclusive judgment be formed on the matter until all the facts are spread on the record. At present we know only that the United States government has entered into an agreement in principle with the Arabian American Oil Corporation (jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Corporation) and the Gulf Exploration Company to build a pipe-line from their oilfields on the western shores of the Persian Gulf to a Mediterranean port. This pipe-line is to be constructed, owned, and maintained by the Petroleum Reserves Corporation, of which Mr. Ickes is chairman. Charges for its use are to include, in addition to operation and maintenance costs, an amount sufficient to amortize the entire investment in twenty-five years, together with interest charges and a net return to the government to be fixed later. The companies agree to maintain a billion-barrel reserve to be available over a fifty-year period to the United States government for

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military or naval use at a price 25 per cent below the market.

Obviously, an agreement of this kind can only become operative subject to a number of other agreements or treaties. In the first place, there must be an agreement with Saudi Arabia, across whose broad deserts the pipeline will be laid for most of its length. If its terminus is Haifa, it will also cross Transjordania and Palestine, and agreements will be necessary with the governments of these two British Mandates. An alternative possibility is that it will reach tidewater at Alexandria, in which case the approval of the Egyptian government must be obtained. Again Gulf Oil shares its concession in Kuwait with Anglo-Iranian Oil, in which the British government holds the majority of the stock. Past experience indicates that this concern will look for a marketing agreement before it signs up.

All these agreements are dependent on the blessing of the British government, which dominates the Near East politically and economically. No doubt that blessing can be obtained; but on what terms? Presumably the British will want to guard their own extensive oil interests in the region from uneconomic competition. Still more, they are likely to look for support in their task of "policing" this area. According to the New York *Times* oil specialist, J. H. Carmical, these problems were under discussion at the Cairo and Teheran conferences, and progress was made toward a general understanding which would include Russia, with its own large stake in oil. Between them the three great powers control some 95 per cent of the world's petroleum supplies, and it is suggested that this control could be used as an instrument to curb aggression. Such a plan fits in, of course, with the idea of an American-Russian-British political cartel, but one wonders how it is supposed to jibe with the broader conception of international organization indorsed by the Moscow conference.

The reason given for American government intervention in the Arabian oil situation is, however, the danger that our domestic supplies will be exhausted within a comparatively few years. Output at the present time is in excess of additions to proved reserves, and some oil men believe that in ten years this country will be a net importer of petroleum products instead of the leading exporter. This may be so, but last time we had an oil scare, in 1922, proved reserves stood at five billion barrels; today they are twenty billion. Moreover, if we do need to import oil we can get it from Latin America, where United States interests are strongly intrenched.

The real difficulty which might arise would be in supplying the huge American distributive system in Europe, and this is why Mr. Ickes's pipe-line will be so valuable to the major companies it will service. But is this a good enough reason for the United States to underwrite the financial and political risks involved? Mr. Ickes's original idea was for the government to acquire a large minority interest in the companies and a voice in their management. The oil men, however, resisted this proposal stubbornly and successfully. For our part, we think that if national interest demands an American stake in Arabian oil, then the government should emulate that well-known socialist Winston Churchill, who in 1914 secured control of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company for the British Treasury.

Hell Bent for Inflation

THE long-drawn-out struggle to prevent an inflationary upset in this war comparable to that suffered in World War I has reached its climax as a result of the Senate's passage of the bill banning further use of food subsidies to hold down the cost of living. Without question the President will veto the bill, as he did a similar measure last summer. But this time there is grave danger that a coalition of irresponsible and economically illiterate and Southern Democrats will succeed in passing the bill over the President's veto.

Incredible though it may seem to anyone with even a high-school knowledge of economics, the opponents of subsidies keep referring to them as "inflationary" and keep insisting that the only way for a farmer to get a fair return for his work is through an increase in price that is passed on to the consumer. It is perfectly true that the payment of subsidies to assure a fair return to some producers or distributors is more "inflationary" than squeezing them by a rigid effort to hold-the-line on prices without any adjustment whatsoever. But this latter alternative is not what the opponents of subsidies want. They would pay the producers and middlemen as much as or more than would be paid in subsidies but would pass the entire cost on to the consumer in the form of higher prices. They close their eyes to the fact that this would bring an immediate and irresistible demand for increased wages, giving the sharpest twist yet to the inflationary spiral. In contrast, subsidies must be paid out of taxes, which, because they can be levied on the basis of capacity to pay, are deflationary in effect.

Unfortunately, organized labor, which represents more of the country's consumers than any other group, has been so hypnotized by the inflationary mirage as to be practically useless at the crucial stage of the subsidy fight. Although both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have repeatedly gone on record as favoring subsidies, doubt has been cast on the sincerity of their pleas for a maintenance of the stabilization program by their simultaneous campaign for an upward revision of the Little Steel formula. And their case has been further injured by the ill-timed release of a highly partisan report purporting to show that the cost of living has risen 43½

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per cent since January, 1941, instead of the 23½ per cent indicated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Although a certain amount of concealed inflation has undoubtedly taken place, chiefly through deterioration in quality, the report of the labor representatives on the President's Committee on the Cost of Living contains glaring discrepancies which make it useless as a scientific document.

Labor's drive for a revision of the Little Steel formula is untimely, not only because it serves to reinforce the attack on the Administration's anti-inflation program, but because it comes at a moment when, for the first time during the war, prices have been effectively stabilized for a protracted period. The cost of living is actually lower today than it was last May, and there is every reason to believe that the present price-wage line can continue to be held by the Administration if it is not upset by political pressures such as those now being brought to bear. The importance of this achievement is not generally understood throughout the country. Yet one only has to compare the behavior of prices in this war with that in World War I to grasp its significance. By December, 1918, after four and a quarter years of war, the cost-of-living index had advanced more than 60 per cent; in the corresponding period of this war the advance was approximately 25 per cent. And in contrast to the decline in the cost-of-living index in the past eight months, the inflationary spiral of World War I continued unchecked throughout the war and for many months after its close.

Although both farmers and war workers gained temporarily in the early stages of the inflation of World War I, both groups suffered acutely in its latter stages and in the readjustment period that followed. If memories were not so short, these groups would be in the forefront of the struggle to hold the line and prevent a repetition of the disaster of 1919-20.

The Political Strategy of Invasion

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE dominant impression among high army officers in Washington is that the war would advance more rapidly toward a victorious conclusion if the military offensive were accompanied by a more aggressive political plan," reported the Associated Press the other day. Three years of warfare and the crisis at the bridgehead of Anzio were necessary before such a statement from such a source could appear in the American press.

Never has a war been more essentially political than this one. Never has a war been waged with greater poverty of political imagination and insight. Political propaganda has been deliberately eliminated from the army, and the efficiency of agencies in charge of propaganda and psychological warfare has been impaired from the beginning by the absence of a clear democratic line. An entirely erroneous conception of the problem of building morale made it possible on February 9 for the evening papers to print enormous headlines about the assault on a hill near Cassino, implying that all was well in Italy, on the very day when Allied troops were pressed back on the Rome front.

The confusion which this lack of a coherent political policy has created is so great that it has victimized some of the most intelligent people. Only a year ago many liberals reproached *The Nation* for its attitude on the French issue—the same attitude now obviously about to be adopted as the official policy of the government. For this lack of a political conception of the war and for lack of the courage to wage it as a war against fascism, we are now paying. Two years of 50 per cent expediency and 50 per cent reaction are bearing fruit. (For the gigantic blunder of Munich we paid with the Second World War.)

The effects are clear on every hand. Responsible Americans who have recently visited many parts of the country report growing dissatisfaction and anxiety. With half the road behind them, people are asking themselves to what destination they are marching, and whether the sacrifices demanded of them will be justified. Two years ago it seemed scandalous to speak of World War III. I remember the shocked reaction which greeted an article I wrote under that title in *The Nation*. Today World War III has become a commonplace topic of discussion.

As regards relations among the United Nations, the outlook is no less dismal. The very phrase "United Nations" has begun to sound like a mockery. General distrust darkens the horizon. Anti-British propaganda and anti-Russian propaganda find an increasingly receptive atmosphere.

Actually it was utopian to hope for unity among the Allies in view of the methods applied to the direction of the war. The first requisites for real unity were approximate equality in sacrifice and at least minimum agreement as to aims. The beginning of 1943 was the propitious moment for the creation of that council of the United Nations of which Sumner Welles spoke in an article in the New York *Herald Tribune* on February 9. "An Executive Council of the United Nations," he said, "was never more necessary than it is today."

At the beginning of 1943 there was comparative equilibrium among the forces of the Allied coalition. The Russians had proved their capacity at Stalingrad. No one with a sense of realism could long think that the war on the eastern front would result in a reciprocal weakening of Germany and Russia—a hope on which the little Metternichs had based their plans for an automatic bal-

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ance of power. Then was the time for British and American diplomacy to lay down a grand United Nations strategy. That would, of course, have necessitated the sacrifice of expediency, the renunciation of the old "legitimacies" in Europe, and an end of the practice of supporting the most reactionary elements in the various political emigrations and free movements. It would have been necessary, in other words, to consider the war in relation to tomorrow, and not as a magic expedient for saving the wretched system of 1939.

When the conference of Teheran finally took place, the disequilibrium within the Allied coalition was too far advanced to be overlooked. For the first time the Wehrmacht had been beaten. The Soviet army had accomplished that in the summer of 1943. The second front, which the Soviet government had been impatiently demanding for a year and which was in itself one of the weights on the Allied scales, had lost part of its meaning for the Russians. They no longer needed a second front as a protection against defeat. Their hour of anxiety was over. Alone they had successfully dealt with the danger of defeat by a ceaseless offensive, by fighting day and night, in good weather and in bad, mud or no mud, without counting casualties, knowing well that that was the only way to beat an enemy like the Nazis.

Of course, they continued to be interested in the second front, but rather as a means to hasten the end of the war and to safeguard themselves against the unjust possibility that at the armistice Russia would be the only one among the Allied nations to count its dead by the millions. The balance had tipped decisively in favor of the Russians. One fact is enough to prove it: the meetings with the British and American leaders had to take place at Moscow and at Teheran.

But like other problems of this war, the problem of the second front is not a purely military one. Particularly in the present stage of the conflict it is a political problem as well. Let us assume that the American and British armies succeed in establishing a solid front in the west, with no danger of being thrown back into the sea. Two possibilities will then be open to the enemy. He may do what the Russians have always hoped the second front would oblige him to do: withdraw a substantial part of his army from the east and launch it against the Americans and British. The major weight of the struggle, in that case, would be transferred to the west. The Anglo-American armies would fight along the periphery of Fortress Europe while the Russians, relieved of the presence of fifty or sixty Nazi divisions, could forcibly push their way across the German frontier. This would mean two things: heavy casualties for the British and Americans, and the arrival of the Russians in Germany ahead of their allies. Knowing the dread which both possibilities inspire in certain circles in London and Washington, the German General Staff might well decide that such tactics offer the best hope of frightening the Western powers into a negotiated peace.

But that same knowledge might also lead the German command to a different conclusion; it might decide to offer the Allies the benefits of a bloodless invasion. Instead of concentrating on smashing the Allied armies in the west, the Germans might leave the bulk of their forces on the Russian front. Under such circumstances, the American and British armies could advance with comparatively small losses and reach Germany while the German troops were still engaging the Russians beyond the eastern frontier.

In a word, Hitler, sure of defeat, might well consider negotiating that defeat, selling it to the party which would pay the better price. Such a possibility would, of course, not even be worth discussing if unity among the United Nations were a reality, if a council of the United Nations existed, based, not upon formal declarations, but upon a clear, democratic agreement for the conduct of the war and the organization of the peace. As long as the Germans see Allied disunity increasing, the incentive for such maneuvers must increase correspondingly.

But the second front is full of political implications for the Allies too. As the article from the London *Tribune*, printed on page 214, points out, the second front implies collaboration with the underground. Unfortunately the importance of the underground, although acknowledged in public addresses, has never been recognized in action. The movement of resistance has never been looked upon as the basis upon which the Europe of tomorrow must rise. Many factors have contributed to the lack of a positive policy in dealing with the underground, but the chief one has been the fear that if the peoples were armed, dreams of reestablishing the prewar Europe would be shattered. Every European leader in this country who has to deal with the problems of the underground has come to the same conclusion: In spite of goodwill and intelligent understanding among individual members of the various agencies of political warfare, the lack of a policy on the part of the governments has prevented any effective use of the anti-fascist forces of the Continent. Even the overpowering desire to save American and British lives has failed to convince the highest Allied authorities that the only alternative to heavy casualties—unless the Germans deliberately withdraw—is the arming of the underground.

The result is what we see today—division among the United Nations and bitterness in the ranks of the democratic fighters of Europe. Even as we write these lines comes the scandalous news of the delivery to Badoglio of the liberated areas of Italy. We ask ourselves whether this is the "more aggressive political plan" demanded by those high army officers whose views are reported at the beginning of this article.

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Soldiers' Votes and 1944

BY ALTER BRODY

THE bitter, cunning, and hitherto successful campaign of the Republican Party to disfranchise in the name of "constitutionalism" the men who are giving their lives to defend our Constitution has overreached itself. The Senate, frightened by public indignation at the brazen performance of the House in passing the Eastland-Rankin "states' rights" bill, has reversed itself and turned out an amended version of the Green-Lucas federal-ballot plan. This will now go into committee with the House "states' rights" bill, and perhaps a compromise will emerge which will make it possible for 50 per cent of the soldiers to vote instead of the less than 1 per cent that voted in the "states' rights" election of 1942 or the possible 95 per cent which could have voted under the original Green-Lucas bill. The President would probably sign a half-a-loaf measure, but he could still take the issue to the families of 11,000,000 service men. However, the soldier-vote battle, regardless of its outcome, has already accomplished one useful thing. It has torn off the pretense of non-partisanship from one of the most partisan fights in American political history.

The soldier-vote issue *is* a partisan issue, and the attempt to deny it is hypocrisy on the part of the Republicans as it is stupidity on the part of the Democrats. The right of the soldiers to vote should never have become a partisan question. But the denial of that right has been the skeleton at the victory feasts which the Republicans have been celebrating since 1940 and at the political wakes which the Democrats have held during the same period. The Republican National Committee, with the efficient research departments of big business at its disposal, has been well aware of the effect of the draft on its political fortunes, though it has shrewdly concealed its knowledge. Only the Democratic National Committee, under the Farley-Walker dynasty of graduate ward-heelers, has appeared unaware of what was happening. As a result, from the day conscription was put into effect the Republicans have been going from victory to victory, pretending that their success has been due to a revolt against the Administration. And since the Democratic machine was in large part similarly hostile to its national leaders, it ended by accepting the Republican propaganda. If they had taken the trouble to analyze recent registration and election figures in New York, the Farleys and Walkers could long ago have discovered the secret of Republican success.

It is well known that a Democratic victory in New York State depends upon the vote in New York City. The city, overwhelmingly Democratic, must pile up a big enough majority to overcome the Republican upstate majority. That is why New York State was normally Republican before the twenties: New York City had not yet achieved a majority of the state's population. This point was reached in 1910, but for some time the large number of foreign-born in the city delayed the translation of the population majority into a voting majority. With the passage of the restrictive immigration laws of 1921 and the gradual naturalization of the non-citizens, the mounting registration figures of New York City began to be translated into a succession of Democratic state victories which was not interrupted till Dewey's election in 1942.

An analysis of recent election figures shows how rapidly New York City's percentage of the state's registration was mounting before 1941. In 1932 the city registration was 2,338,000 out of a state total of 5,350,000, or 43 per cent. By 1940 city registration rose to 3,388,000 out of a state total of 6,968,000, or 49 per cent. Since a higher percentage of registered voters turn out in the city on Election Day, New York City finally achieved a clear majority of 51 per cent in the 1940 elections. Under normal circumstances this majority would not only have been permanent but have steadily increased until the city's registration percentage corresponded to its population percentage, namely, about 55 per cent.

The war radically altered this trend in two related ways. First, since the city had relatively few war industries, many workers and their families migrated to other parts of the country to take war jobs. Second, though the figures have never been released by the War Department, it is well known that a higher percentage of men has been drafted from the city, which has a greater proportion of non-essential, non-deferable jobs in its industries. In consequence, the city's population has dropped from about 7,500,000, as reported in the 1940 census, to about 6,600,000, according to applications for Ration Book 4, a fairly reliable index. No such drop has taken place upstate, where war-essential agriculture and war-essential industries have combined to keep down both the number of men lost by migration and the number taken by the army. According to statements by Governor Dewey and Mayor LaGuardia, only 300,000 men from upstate have been drafted as compared with 700,000 from New York City. These facts were unmistakably manifest in the 1943 city and state registration figures.

Registration always drops in off-year elections, but the

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ratio of city to state remains substantially the same. Last fall upstate registration dropped from the 3,580,000 of 1940 to 2,915,000, city registration from 3,388,000 to 1,750,000. In other words, the city vote decreased from 49 per cent to 37 per cent of the total, whereas the upstate share rose from the narrow margin of 51 per cent to 63 per cent—a huge differential. Thus registration week revealed that a Democratic defeat was inevitable. Contrary to the general impression, the election marked no decline in the pro-New Deal percentage of the city's vote, but only a decline in the city's percentage of the state total. This meant that though Republican Willkie, polling 39 per cent of the New York City vote, lost the state in 1940, Republican Hanley, polling 39 per cent, could win in 1943.

Republican victories in other parts of the country in the elections of 1942 and 1943 can be explained in much the same way as Republican success in New York State. We have seen that in New York the distribution of essential industries combined with the draft sent a disproportionately high percentage of Democrats to training camps and war-boom towns far from their voting precincts and at the same time kept a disproportionately high percentage of Republicans at home, within easy reach of their ballot boxes. More or less the same conditions have prevailed throughout the nation.

The high percentage of Democrats in our hitherto disfranchised army is accounted for by two factors, neither of which has anything to do with the Democratic Commander-in-Chief, as Republicans pretend. The first is the average age of service men. According to Dr. Gallup, "all Institute studies of recent years found that voters who are under thirty are predominantly Democratic in their political sentiments." The second is more complex, but it stems largely from the fact that the machinery of draft deferment heavily favors agriculture as opposed to industry. According to a recent statement by General Hershey, there have been 3,400,000 deferments on occupational grounds. Of these, 1,800,000 have been in agriculture and 1,600,000 in industry. In addition, of 5,000,000 pre-Pearl Harbor fathers to be called in 1944, 1,000,000 are to be deferred in agriculture and 1,000,000 in industry. When we consider that there are 45,000,000 people engaged in industry and 12,000,000 in agriculture in the United States, the effect of these deferment figures becomes apparent. A farmer has about four times as much chance of deferment as a city worker.

This fact has had a strategic influence on recent elections. In the Solid South, where both the rural and the urban population are Democratic, agricultural deferment has had no influence on the vote. But north of the Mason and Dixon Line, where national elections are decided, the rural vote is predominantly Republican and the urban vote predominantly Democratic. According to Gallup Institute studies, from 1932 to 1940 the Republicans failed to carry a single Northern city of over 500,000 inhabitants and carried only two cities between 250,000 and 500,000. The deferment of 25 per cent of the farmers and of only 6 per cent of the industrial workers will therefore markedly affect the political balance of power.

If the vast majority of service men by reason of age and occupation were Democrats before they were drafted, their political attitude has undergone no change since they donned the uniform, according to the findings of a recent Gallup poll. Unfortunately this poll deliberately excluded the 25 per cent of service men who are from the South, on the ground that their voting preference would have no influence on the election results. Excluding these traditional Democrats, the poll shows that 61 per cent of the service men from the rest of the country are Democratic in their political preferences. If we assume that 80 per cent of Southern service men are Democrats, the national average is brought to about 66 per cent.

Taken in conjunction with another Gallup poll of civilian political alignments, this analysis of the political preferences of the soldiers throws considerable light both on Republican victories in 1942 and 1943 and on Republican chances in 1944. According to the Gallup figures, 52 per cent of the probable 40,000,000 civilian voters are Democratic and 48 per cent Republican. Because of the concentration of Democratic strength in the South, 52 per cent does not constitute a safe national electoral majority for the Democratic Party, though it would for the Republicans. But combine the 66 per cent of Democratic service men—out of a possible soldier vote of 10,000,000—with the civilian Democrats and you get a remarkable statistical phenomenon. The soldier and civilian vote today, taken together, shows about the same numerical and percentage division between parties as was represented in the Roosevelt victory of 1940. The respective figures are 27,400,000 and 22,600,000—a Democratic majority of some 5,000,000, as in 1940.

The soldier Democrats are not the only Democrats whose disfranchisement contributed to the Republican victories in 1942 and 1943. The Gallup Institute mentions also "a group estimated at five to ten millions who have shifted their place of work because of war-time conditions and who for the most part failed to vote either because of ineligibility or because they did not take advantage of absentee balloting. In this group . . . Democrats overwhelmingly predominate."

After the second series of Democratic defeats in 1943, James A. Farley, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, echoed the Republican propaganda that "the voters were tired of being pushed around," and Frank C. Walker, who was chairman at the time, expressed the pious hope that perhaps the voters would change their minds by 1944. But the Republicans were

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well aware of the real reasons for their "victory," and when the Lucas-Green soldier-vote bill came up in the Senate they decided that it had to be defeated.

Throughout last November amendment after amendment was offered by the Republican foes of the bill in an effort to split its Democratic support. All these amendments, including one offered by its arch-foe, Senator Taft, were accepted and incorporated in the bill. But in the cloakrooms the Republicans were conniving with Southern poll-tax reactionaries for a flank attack that would defeat it. A minority of the Democratic Senators, mainly from the poll-tax states, joined a majority of the Republican Senators to pass the fraudulent Eastland-Rankin states' rights bill, which nullifies the purposes of the Green-Lucas bill. A majority of the Democratic Senators and a minority of the Republicans opposed it.

On February 3, by the use of similar methods, the Eastland-Rankin bill was passed in the House. Despite the attempt of the Republican Party to hide behind its Southern poll-tax allies, the New York *Times*, which has been consistently sniping at the Administration, commented editorially on the partisan character of the fight:

> The federal plan was defeated not because of the Southern votes, a majority of which would have approved it, but because of Republican votes. . . . The record shows that 69 Southern votes were cast in favor of the federal plan and 62 in favor of the states' rights plan. . . . Of a total of 193 Republicans, only 18 supported the federal plan as opposed to 175 supporting the states' rights plan.
>
> Clearly, for the Republicans, the decisive factor in the whole affair was their fear that a majority of the soldier vote would go to the President.

In the heat of the soldier-vote battle Walter Lippmann exposed the secret recipe for Republican victory in 1944:

> The Republicans have allied themselves with the farm organizations. . . . Their calculation is that they can take for granted the bulk of employers, that labor may be divided by the factionalism of men like Lewis *or be in part disfranchised by change of residence or by being in the armed forces* (italics mine).

The effort to disfranchise the soldiers is an attempt to prevent Democrats from voting. It is an attempt by one party to win political power by disfranchising its political opponents.

Discussion of Democratic strategy in other fields is beyond the scope of this article, but the soldier-vote issue, which Republican greed has thrown into the hands of the Democrats, can be converted into an immense political asset. The twelve million veterans of this war will be a far greater political force than the four million veterans of the last war, not only because of their greater number but because of the more dynamic character of the period. These men are at present predominantly progressive in their political outlook. But there is always the danger that, like the veterans of other periods and other countries, they will be exploited after the war by reactionary demagogues for purposes of their own. Fortunately, the reactionary elements in Congress now stand exposed as the very ones who, largely in the Republican camp, are bitterly opposing the soldier-vote bill.

The present cleavage of interest between the reactionary forces of America and our soldiers can be dramatized by the soldier-vote issue. Whatever the outcome of the present fight in Congress, the Republican record on the bill should be made a major issue of the Presidential election.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

ALTHOUGH we cannot predict what will be the results of King Milan's sudden and theatrical return to Servia, it is safe to say that they are not likely to be for the good of the country or the peace of Europe.—*February 1, 1894.*

TO THE EDITOR of *The Nation:* . . . It seems to me that the time is already quite ripe to begin to take action in our several states concerning a form of advertisement from which America suffers as no other country ever has been or ever will be cursed. I refer to the medical advertisements in our newspapers. . . . We find every alternate column beginning with a "scare-head" that suggests momentous news, and we presently discover, coordinated with perhaps a change of ministry in England, the annexation of Hawaii, or the passage of a tariff bill, accounts of Mr. Mingo's kidneys, Mr. Hawkshaw's bronchi, or Mrs. Hecla's skin—on which the grotesque pictures of the sufferers set the seal. Like Ulysses, these worthies have become a part of all that we have met; and all experience is an arch wherethrough their entrails gleam as it were iridescently upon us, until the world looms to our imagination in a sort of catarrhal vapor, or as if bathed in a cancerous and haemorrhoidal mist. . . . I returned home last September . . . and I remember that the first sight I got of the Boston *Herald* on the steamer wharf made me involuntarily jerk back my head and catch my breath, as if a bucket of slops had suddenly been thrown into my face.—WILLIAM JAMES, *February 1, 1894.*

BESIDES THE USUAL QUOTA of dialectical fiction, the *Century* contains . . . the vigorously sketched tale of "Pudd'nhead Wilson," genuinely and solidly American in subject and treatment.—*February 8, 1894.*

MR. GLADSTONE HAS AGAIN disposed of the report that he was about to retire from office immediately. He has returned to London in improved health.—*February 15, 1894.*

THE QUESTION WHETHER the game of football ought to be encouraged was discussed in Philadelphia last week by two college professors—Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, who took the affirmative, and Burt G. Wilder of Cornell, in the negative.—*February 22, 1894.*

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The Cartels' Washington Friends

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 11

LAST week I said I would tackle the task of naming some of the men and influences in Washington "which already make it seem an almost hopeless task to achieve full employment after the war and to prevent revival of the cartel system." Here goes:

Jesse Jones. One of the best ways to maintain free enterprise after the war and to prevent further hardening of our economic arteries would be to use government-owned war plants as publicly operated yardsticks, TVA style, in basic industries. This is the only good weapon we have against cartelization; anti-trust prosecution is a Sisyphean task resulting at best in flea-bite penalties.

On paper, we are in an excellent position to carry out such a policy. We have built some 2,600 plants for war purposes; the investment in them is variously estimated at from $16 billion to $20 billion. These government-financed facilities include nearly all our synthetic-rubber and high-octane-gas plants, 92 per cent of our magnesium, 90 per cent of our aircraft plants, more than 50 per cent of our aluminum capacity, 50 per cent of our machine-tool capacity, and about 10 per cent of our steel. The RFC through the Defense Plant Corporation holds title to the bulk of these—1,753 in all. As Jesse Jones indicated in his speech before the New York Board of Trade last October, these include 534 aircraft plants, 164 iron-and-steel plants, 116 plants for the manufacture of machine tools, 98 plants for radio and similar equipment, 84 aluminum plants, 65 plants for ships and ship engines, 60 mining and smelter plants, 60 plants for synthetic rubber and its components, 35 plants for aviation gas, 6 pipe-lines for petroleum. This is far from a complete list.

A mere enumeration of products by no means indicates the full possibilities. The butadiene plants in the synthetic-rubber program provide the basis for infinite developments in plastics; the government's machine-tool capacity is a sleeping, and probably will soon be a chloroformed, giant, capable of spawning huge and multifarious industries. In a socialist America what wealth, comfort, and happiness for all could be drawn from these resources!

Here I plead only for a "mixed" system, for the operation of enough of this capacity on a "yardstick" basis to prevent renewed restriction of production and the fixing of uneconomic prices. Such a policy was advocated by the National Resources Planning Board; the NRPB has been abolished. The war plants are largely in the hands of Jesse Jones, and Jones is unlikely to permit their use for any such purpose—and would be back in Houston in a twinkling if he tried.

The trend of policy is to get rid of these plants as rapidly as possible, and there is little chance of an anti-monopolistic policy in disposing of them. Jones's policy in the RFC has been inimical to independent enterprise, helpful to monopoly. He will sell most war plants to their present operators; the majority of these are monopolistic and will emerge well fattened from the war. Standard Oil, Alcoa, and du Pont, our leading carteleers, and their allies will be in a stronger position than ever to dominate domestic and world markets. A huge portion of our war-plant facilities will go directly or indirectly to these three concerns.

Leo T. Crowley. Another small-town banker taken into the big time. As Alien Property Custodian, Crowley has his hands on a second great instrument for the preservation of free enterprise—in a real sense—and the prevention of a cartel system after the war. The alien patents and properties under his control were the heart of monopolies in chemicals, pharmaceuticals, dyestuffs, photographic materials, magnesium, and a long list of highly important industrial components and products. The policies he is pursuing will help keep these monopolies intact or make them stronger than ever.

Crowley boasts that he is making alien patents freely available to American business. But he makes two kinds of exceptions, and these are broad enough to permit maintenance and revival of the cartel system. He makes an exception when an American concern already has an exclusive license under an alien patent; such patents will not be available except under very special circumstances. But exclusive licenses of this kind are one of the basic cartel devices, and it is no secret that many American companies deliberately took out licenses under worthless German patents to give them a legal weapon against competitors at home and abroad. The second exception is in the case of patents used in the operations of a business taken over by the Alien Property Custodian. This means that a concern like General Aniline and Film, the principal German property in the United States and the foundation of Germany's imperial power in North and South American pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and other materials, continues in possession of these basic monopolistic devices.

Crowley is still drawing $75,000 a year as chairman and president of Standard Gas and Electric. He obtained that job from Victor Emanuel, president of Standard Power and Light, which controls Standard Gas. Emanuel

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himself came to power in Standard Gas and in Aviation Corporation, our most important holding company in aircraft and shipbuilding, with the financial backing of the Anglo-German banking house of J. Henry Schroder. The Schroder firms of London and New York are linked by family ties with the Schröder Brothers bank of Hamburg and by business ties with the Stein bank of Cologne. A leading partner in the latter is the Baron Kurt von Schröder who was the go-between in Hitler's negotiations with the Rhineland industrialists.

The Schroder bank in London was a member of the notoriously pro-Nazi Anglo-German Fellowship. In March, 1938, the London bank formed a company to finance the export of basic materials to the Reich. A year previously the Schroder bank in New York subscribed $300,000 to set up a corporation to facilitate barter of German products for American cotton.

Next to the Schroders, the most important banking interest in Standard Gas before the war was Chase National. No two banks in New York had more dealings with Nazi concerns and cartels than Chase National and the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation. I think it inexcusable that the Alien Property Custodian should be receiving $75,000 a year from Standard Gas, in view of the conflicting interests in which this double position might possibly involve him. Add the fact that Crowley is now head of the Foreign Economic Administration, and has actively furthered General Aniline interests in Latin America, and you have a situation that hardly promises to weaken the great cartels after the war.

Nelson, Byrnes, Baruch. I only have a line left for these dominant figures in the reconversion of industry. Their policies, whatever their intentions, move in the direction of giving big business the inside track on reconversion. I hope to return to this subject again soon, but I think I have indicated how powerfully intrenched are the forces which make for great monopolies after the war and for the revival of cartels.

Legitimism—New Style

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

AT THE risk of writing what is commonly called "philosophy" instead of an analysis of political "facts," I venture to quote an aphorism coined by a Hungarian professor of jurisprudence. Professor Plósz said: "A theory which cannot be put into practice is a bad theory, and a practice which has no foundation in theory is a bad practice." This method of appraisal can be applied to political institutions as well, notwithstanding Pope's familiar dictum: "For forms of government let fools contest." However, it is not contesting the relative merits of various forms of government to attempt to clarify what they really mean both in theory and in practice.

A current mistake which blurs the political vision is the assumption that republic is the correlative of democracy, while monarchy means an authoritarian or at least an aristocratic form of government. Coins of Napoleon bore the inscription *"République Française, Napoléon Empereur,"* as, indeed, since the sixteenth century the English equivalent of the Latin *respublica* had been used in its signification of a commonwealth or state even if the state was ruled by an absolute monarch. Since Francis Lieber baptized England a "Royal Republic," or rather since the English "Glorious Revolution," monarchy has lost the right to be contrasted with republicanism; still more so since the First World War, as a result of which no one any longer denies that the popular will is the legal base of all politics and not even monarchists seek to justify monarchy with transcendental arguments. To some persons it has seemed that republican sentiment has thereby lost both its opponents and its significance. Professor Rohden, for example, wrote in the "Encyclopedia of Social Sciences" that the struggle between the divine right of kings and popular sovereignty having come to an end, the choice between the monarchical and the republican form of government resolves itself into the question which is more opportune.

Recent events scarcely confirm this optimism. On the contrary, the unwelcome results in some countries of postwar revolutions which created republics without republicans have disproved Rohden's thesis and revived the old controversy. Persons who are anxious to shun "revolution and chaos" seem to pin their hopes on legitimism just as their predecessors did at the time of the Holy Alliance, which, however, in spite of Metternich's genius was unable to prevent the European uprisings in 1830 and 1848. It is of course unreasonable to attribute intrinsic value to one or another form of government. Only blindfold praisers of times past believe monarchy to be the penicillin of politics, the miracle drug which can instantly heal both the wounds in the body politic inflicted by the war and the internal ailments that preceded and resulted in the war. No unbiased observer of history needs to be told that neither monarchy nor republic is a panacea, or that checking the outburst of an overdue revolution does not remove its causes.

A priori, the maintenance or the restoration of a monarchy, in particular of a legitimist monarchy with

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a venerable historical tradition, is supposed to have a stabilizing effect on the social structure when its balance is threatened by the aftermath of war. But the steadying influence of a monarchy largely depends on the kind of tradition it continues and the moral power it exercises. Lord Bryce classified states as "flexible" or "rigid," and the value of their tradition varies accordingly. It was its flexibility which allowed Great Britain to develop from an oligarchy, first into a middle-class regime, then gradually, by extension of the franchise and limitation of the veto power of the House of Lords, into a democracy. These constitutional changes became traditional, and the dynasty reigning theoretically by the grace of God, in fact by a parliamentary title, conformed to this tradition. Combining the dignity of the crown with a strong sense of duty, the King of England personifies both national consciousness and sympathetic human feelings. British legitimism rests on a pliable tradition. It is perhaps an overstatement to call the case of the British monarchy unique, as the "Encyclopedia Britannica" does, but it certainly presents a shining contrast to monarchies based upon a right superior to the people's will.

Legitimate authority is no doubt a safeguard of law and peace, provided it lives up to the tradition which both law and legitimism express. There is, however, another proviso: the tradition must not collide with the development of public opinion in the community or with social progress. Whether our age will be in fact the Century of the Common Man may be doubtful, but it is unlikely to become the century of a privileged class, a clique, or a court camarilla, one or the other of which was the foundation of legitimism in bygone times. Even dictatorships have to be more democratic today than were the Oriental despotisms of the past. It is true, they have set back the clock of history, but only blind worshipers of authority can expect that the clock will be put right by replacing the dictators by those monarchs whose cracked divine authority the dictators impersonated. No one can foresee what social structure or what public opinion will emerge in the post-war period, but it is improbable that the enslaved nations will exchange their predicament for a self-imposed slavery or substitute the *Weltanschauung* of an out-of-date aristocracy for the ever-widening sphere of public opinion.

If we examine, for example, the tradition of the claimants to the Austrian, the Hungarian, and the Spanish throne, it appears that the Hapsburg and Bourbon dynasties were always, to put it mildly, intensely conservative. For seven centuries, as A. J. P. Taylor has said, "the Hapsburg lands were a collection of entailed estates," based since Maria Theresa on a centralized bureaucratic system and an authority in which "the obstinate, unenlightened Hapsburg nature reasserted itself" after the interlude of Joseph II, the "people's emperor." Medieval Spanish etiquette was as traditional to the Hapsburg court as the use of the Austrian aristocracy and the Hungarian squirearchy in support of this tradition. No one can accuse Sir Charles Petrie of bias against the Hapsburgs, whom he considers far superior to the British dynasty, but it was their misfortune, he wrote, "that circumstances made them the object of attack when the French Revolution spread the virus of nationalism and democracy throughout Europe" ["Monarchy," London, 1933]. Conservative, feudal, and Catholic elements being their historical support, the Hapsburgs had to protect themselves against the "virus" of nationalism and democracy; a national, democratic dynasty would have had no *raison d'être* in a multilingual, semi-feudal empire.

Renouncing the tradition of his ancestors, the pretender to their throne, Archduke Otto, spoke recently of his aim to transform Hungary into a democratic state of peasants and workers. A century ago one of the Archduke's distant relatives, the son of Philippe Egalité, performed a similar volte-face when he became the *roi bourgeois* of France. It is possible of course that the Archduke, in spite of this not very encouraging example, is not simply paying lip service to American democracy but hopes by advocating a "peasant and worker state" to win the benevolence of Marshal Stalin. If this should prove true, Hapsburg legitimism would become a real revolutionary movement, since the threat of a thorough agrarian reform would be sure to meet resistance from the landowning aristocracy and clergy. While it is obvious that by discarding the family tradition the pretender would lose the support of the conservative stabilizing elements, he could not, on the other hand, win over for this illegitimate legitimism those who stand for thorough agrarian reform. After the experience of 1848 the Hungarian people have little confidence in democratic promises offered by the Hapsburgs.

However, the supporters of the Hapsburg pretender are not found among the radicals whose gospel he is preaching but among Hungarian aristocrats, Catholic priests, propagandists of the Horthy regime, wealthy financiers and industrialists. Conscious of their own interests, these groups would scarcely back his efforts if they were not convinced that all this talk about democracy is but window-dressing for the benefit of those leaders of the United Nations whose support he is soliciting. Still less compatible with legitimism is the pretender's promise to be on friendly terms with the neighbors of Hungary. Hapsburg legitimist tradition is closely linked with the Austro-Hungarian Empire which it is supposed to restore. That the promise of a loan to Hungary would restore the pretender to his throne, as Sir Charles Petrie believes, may be wishful thinking, but a logical implication of this hope is that "once there, it will assuredly not be long before their [the Hapsburgs'] former subjects voluntarily return to the rule of the double-headed eagle." Whether the resuscitation of this ambiguous bird would

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have this unlikely result is of less consequence than the effect which the hope of its revival would have in the successor states of the Hapsburg realm. Peoples which for a quarter of a century enjoyed national independence would feel that expectations aroused by the Atlantic Charter had been betrayed, and the result would probably be the civil war and chaos which legitimism is supposed to prevent. Without their tradition the Hapsburgs are of no use; with it they are a threat to European peace.

Apparently each of the legitimist aspirations must be dealt with separately. A century ago, when Don Carlos V, under British protection, had embarked in the Donegal for Spain, a pamphlet appeared in London (1835) entitled "Legitimism, the Only Salvation for Spain." It was this salvation which eventually produced Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco. In Italy the House of Savoy used its legitimism to work in "closest and most whole-hearted cooperation" with Mussolini, who after having called the king *"simbolo della Patria, simbolo della perpetuità della Patria,"* proclaimed the Fascist republic which is now fighting against "the perpetuity of the Fatherland." Of still more doubtful value is the short-lived "legitimism" of the Balkan kings in exile, who as a protection against "chaos and revolution" have set up military dictatorships and hope to revive their dynasties with the help of the Allied armies.

In his last book, "The Principles of Power," Guglielmo Ferrero concludes that "legitimacies grow old for two reasons: either because they abuse the prestige they possess or because men's ideas undergo a new orientation, and they can no longer suffer the absurdity and injustice that every principle of legitimacy contains within it." In 1944, it seems, the second reason is operating. If the system does become outworn, it can be replaced, according to Ferrero, only by "democratic legitimacy as formulated by the last two centuries." But democratic legitimacy if it is not to be a *contradictio in adjecto* can be created only by the people, not by exiled monarchs who are no more capable of restoring their legitimacy than a maiden her lost virginity. Legitimacy based on a new democratic tradition reminds one, indeed, of the story about the president of a Midwestern university who visited Oxford and was told that, in accordance with a tradition handed down through more than four hundred years, dons were allowed to cross the campus while undergraduates had to walk around. On his return he had a signboard set up on his own campus with the inscription: "From tomorrow on the four-hundred-year-old tradition begins that only dons may cross the campus."

In the Wind

THE COMMITTEE FOR Constitutional Government proposes an amendment to the Constitution, to provide that the maximum aggregate rate of "all taxes, duties, and excises which the Congress may lay or collect on, with respect to, or measured by, income . . . shall not exceed 25 per centum."

ON PAGE 296 of Apperson's "English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases" appear these lines:

"From Hell, Hull, and Halifax
Good Lord deliver us."

The first date given for the quotation is 1594. This little paragraph is in honor of its 350th anniversary.

HOW TO GET A CANDIDATE: The following item appeared under "Help Wanted, Male," in the Augusta, Georgia, *Herald:* "Honest, intelligent, conscientious citizen as independent candidate for judge of City Court of Richmond County. Would have backing of Augusta Citizens' Union if desired. Must be lawyer. Light work. Short hours. Good salary. Excellent opening for right party. References. Write for appointment Augusta Citizens' Union."

THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL of America has protested to the National Geographic Society "against repeated, wilful omission of the Republic of Czechoslovakia" from the society's new map of the world, published in December, 1943. The society replied that Czechoslovakia is a "part of Germany."

THE WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK, *Reporter-Dispatch* refused to accept a paid advertisement announcing the moving of a cooperative store to larger quarters. The only reason given for the refusal was, "It is against the policy of the Macy chain to publish cooperative advertisements." The Macy chain, which publishes newspapers in Yonkers, Mount Vernon, New Rochelle, Tarrytown, Peekskill, Ossining, and Port Chester, as well as White Plains, is the dominant purveyor of local news in Westchester County.

STARS AND STRIPES, the army newspaper, publishes a poem by a soldier who signs himself E. M. L. on the soldier-vote mess in Congress. It predicts victory over the Nazis and the Japanese, and ends thus:

All liberties we will defend
At home, abroad, until the end.
Then we will beat the rats who say,
"You cannot vote Election Day."

FESTUNG EUROPA: From a speech by one Karmasin, leader of the "German Ethnical Group" in Spis, Slovakia: "No one should believe that he might be spared by the enemy because he did not take part in the last monthly meetings or did not pay his party dues and contributions."

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in January goes to Howard Poss of Cambridge, Mass., for the story of Representative Edith Nourse Rogers's remarks on subsidies, which was published in the issue of January 22.*]

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Second-Front Strategy

[*This article is by the military critic of the London* Tribune *and is taken from a recent issue of that paper. A commentary by J. Alvarez del Vayo appears on page 205.*]

WE HAVE come a long way since Lord Simon denounced the second front as a catchpenny phrase. Twelve months have passed since the Casablanca conference announced the unconditional-surrender terms and the coming engagement of the largest possible number of Germans on land, on sea, and in the air within nine months. Six months have passed since the Quebec conference turned the Allies to the invasion of Europe via what Mr. Churchill, in a moment of geographical extravagance, called its soft under-belly. On that occasion Mr. Churchill also announced to the United States Congress that Britain and America had decided to use their air power to beat Germany to its knees. At least, said the Premier, the policy will be given a trial and its efficacy judged by the results.

Before considering these two propositions, a word has to be said about a third decision which was taken at Casablanca—the war against the U-boat. Throughout the winter of 1942-43—until March—serious toll was taken by enemy submarine attacks. The actual loss of ships had become less seriously felt and was increasingly being replaced by the extraordinary speed-up in shipbuilding in the United States. But each ship sunk carried cargo destined for this or that war purpose, and its non-arrival seriously interfered with more than one planned operation. The hazards of winter weather bore heavily on both naval and merchant-marine personnel. . . . Yet by March the tide had turned; convoys reached the Mediterranean and crossed the Atlantic with little loss—and from then onward the supply across the sea was secured. It was possible to plan large operations without this serious hazard.

PRIORITY FOR AIR ATTACKS

The U-boat was the priority of the Casablanca conference in January; and when the Quebec conference met in August the situation at sea was so satisfactory that there was no longer need to maintain the order of precedence. The statesmen and soldiers who met in Canada had to make their second choice; it is clear from Mr. Churchill's statement to Congress and from the subsequent course of the war, and of Allied production, that priority at Quebec was given to the air attack on Germany, the occupied countries, and German satellites.

British and American aircraft output was increased to 11,000 combat planes a month. Of these about 1,400 were said to be heavy bombers. In other words, in the half-year after Quebec, Britain and America produced 66,000 combat planes, of which about 8,000 were heavy bombers. Anglo-American production alone was about four times that of Germany, and Allied air strength, according to press reports, has also reached a four-to-one superiority over the Luftwaffe.

Even so, this great production increase did not come up to the Quebec schedule; the development of the United States' day-bombing program was slower than had been anticipated. A strong propaganda campaign emanating from Bomber Command was at the same time hinting at dire consequences if greater allocations of heavy bombers were not made. This succeeded, and the weight of the Anglo-American air attack has been increasing; . . . neither bad weather nor more German defenses have held off the assault from the air. Great damage has been done to Germany. Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Essen, and smaller towns in the Ruhr and elsewhere have been partially destroyed and thoroughly disorganized. Now the attack is on Berlin, and the German capital is likely to share the ghastly fate of the other industrial cities.

THE NET EFFECT

. . . What is the military effect of this major Anglo-American effort in 1943? . . . Twenty-four of Germany's fifty major towns have been heavily hit, and production and civil life have been severely disorganized. About 20,000,000 of Greater Germany's 97,000,000 people have been directly affected. Production has suffered heavily, but reliable accounts show that rebuilding proceeds rapidly, and the over-all effect on production is less great than the usual figures quoted in the press. Polish Silesia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and the Balkan countries are producing an ever-increasing share of Germany's needs. . . . The smashing of many Ruhr factories was not as catastrophic for German production as it would have been four years ago.

Reports on the way the German civilians are taking the raids show that the general consequences on morale are similar to what they were here. Bombing leads either to despondent apathy or to a hardening of the spirit; it also makes the Nazi regime more unpopular and makes people want to end the war. But except for the unconditional-surrender invitation there has been no way opened which would canalize the political consequences of bombing into action against the Nazis.

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How far, then, has all this so-called "softening" eased the way of the Allied troops into the Continent? . . . Bombing, it has been claimed by Harris, Trenchard, and many others, will so daze the Germans, so soften the invasion road, and so disorganize defense installations that all the Allied land forces will have to do is to move in and occupy the ground so prepared. The great air battle which is to precede the invasion, according to Montgomery and many other air-minded spokesmen, will be a battle against the Luftwaffe and a bombing attack upon selected targets. But how is the effectiveness of this form of attack to be squared with the statement made in Washington that the Americans alone count on suffering 500,000 casualties in the attack? Add the British, and the estimate rises to something like 700,000 casualties.

The indirect form of weakening the enemy by attacking his industrial cities offered some hope of return if the process of destruction was to go on week by week with increasing force until ultimately the enemy's very will to fight would be broken. But this reckoning left the Russian front out of account. The urge of the Russians to finish the war is very real; they are demonstrating just now how much they are in earnest.

The great issue now facing the Anglo-American statesmen and soldiers is to adjust the heavy-bombing policy initiated in Quebec to the decisions taken in Teheran. There can be no doubt that the biggest military advantage which the Allies have at present over the Germans in the coastal-defense belt is the great numerical superiority of the Anglo-American air forces over the Luftwaffe. But can this superiority be turned to account in the critical phase of the attack on the Continent?

France is obviously a key position in the unrolling of Allied plans for the invasion. Since last August the R. A. F. and the United States Air Force have dropped about 30,000 tons of bombs on selected military targets in France. It has been estimated that about 30 per cent of this total causes military damage of more or less serious character. But against the background of the massive German defenses this is hardly noticeable. What happened in Ortona shows how well modern defenses can withstand shell and blast. This little town on the coast of the Adriatic was shelled continuously for over two weeks and received about 6,000 tons of *directed* fire before the enemy evacuated it.

A DANGEROUS FALLACY

The massive air force which the R. A. F. and the Americans have built up is unsuited for tactical bombing, which has to fit into the to-and-fro of battle. Nor can it be used for precision bombing of small targets such as gun positions, blockhouses, and the like. It has been argued that when the time comes the strategic bombing force now under the command of Air Marshal Harris and General Doolittle will swing into action in full harmony with the sea and land forces of the Allies. But this is a dangerous fallacy. At present the briefing and assembly of heavy aircraft and their crews, the take-off, and the final departure in formation take some hours to complete. This is all right when static targets such as cities are to be attacked. But once the invasion battle is joined, while the target for air attack may still be a city, it may have to be hit quickly, when troops are passing through it or just before they are passing. Or the target may be an area where troops are assembling, or a defense zone where Allied forces are held up; but in every case the period between the call for attack and the need for its execution will be brief. Sometimes it will be a matter of a few hours; sometimes only of minutes. This sort of thing cannot be improvised, and to suggest that one can simply take the existing organization of the strategic bomber forces and integrate it into armies on the move is illusionary. The whole experience of the African, the Sicilian, and the Italian campaign goes to show that the full weight of Allied air power has not yet been deployed in battle because it is dispersed on what has been described as a long-term blueprint which will ultimately destroy German industry.

But the whole pace of the war has now been increased, and there are danger signals going up on the Continent in many places which point to an even greater speeding up. Again the crisis will center in France. The evidence reaching this country of what is happening inside France leaves no doubt that armed groups are fighting the Germans and their collaborators in the mountains and already also in many of the towns. . . . Sabotage groups are increasing, the secret army is extending its activity, and collaborators are abandoning the German side in large numbers. Swiss newspapers estimate that the total number of Frenchmen collaborating with the Germans does not exceed 5,000. . . . Added to this comes the fact that the Germans have had to call on all the occupied countries to furnish man-power for the defense of France. Their forty-three divisions at present manning the defenses include almost every nationality in Europe.

With such a heterogeneous force the Germans face great difficulties in resisting a landing accompanied by large-scale guerrilla and partisan activity in France. There is every sign that this will happen, but there is a definite danger that some of these most fruitful activities will be stultified by heavy air assaults on French towns and districts, which in their total effect will disperse our French allies rather than damage the German enemy. This happened in northern Italy in the crucial period of last August.

CHOICE BEFORE THE ALLIES

There is still lacking close integration of Allied air attack with French sabotage and partisan activity. For air attack and partisan warfare against communications are the only means by which the reinforcement of the enemy can be obstructed. In view of the nature of the Anglo-

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American air forces it is clear that they will have to rely far more heavily on the disruptive activity of allied partisans than is usually realized.

The admission of the second front into the respectable circle of grand strategy has not come about as the normal development of Anglo-American policy. . . . Outside circumstances of compelling character have resulted in the acceptance of a revised time-table. And the operation against the enemy has to be carried out with large numbers of troops who have never been in battle and with an air force trained and fashioned for strategic bombing and not for close cooperation with the land army.

There are therefore as powerful military reasons in Western Europe as in the Balkans calling for collaboration between invading armies and local partisans. At one time this was an escapist cliché. Now it has become urgent necessity. To omit this is to make our own task very much more hazardous. The choice before the Allied leaders of the second front is between a Badoglio and a Tito policy. The attack on the Continent will have to be accompanied by great changes both in method of warfare and in the spirit behind it. Otherwise the walls around Europe will not fall without a heavy price in blood being paid.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE war is everywhere having a bad effect on the conduct of young people. But lawlessness and a decline of morals began in Germany soon after the establishment of the Nazi regime. And without any doubt the regime itself—particularly the spirit and practice of the Hitler Youth formations—was responsible. The trend has now been accelerated by the war.

The degree to which people have been aroused by the situation is illustrated by a recent occurrence in Rostock. On January 23 the district leader called a meeting of "parents' representatives" in the municipal theater to discuss the subject "Errors in the Treatment of Youth." The district leader himself made the principal speech. According to reports in the local newspapers, he began by denying that there had been any substantial deterioration in the morals of young people. He admitted only "a few isolated cases of delinquency." And for these, he insisted, the party was not responsible. "He protested emphatically against attributing these cases—as was sometimes done, quite wrongly—to conditions in the Hitler Youth." On the contrary, he said, the families were at fault. "The sporadic instances of juvenile delinquency in Rostock could be traced back exclusively to the deficient education of racially inferior families." At the end he became threatening, and then the real reason for the meeting came out. Evidently a considerable proportion of Rostock parents had instituted a kind of sabotage of the Hitler Youth. These parents, the district leader disclosed, had invented methods of keeping their children out of the organization. "They invoke innumerable stock excuses," he said, and he threatened them with fearful consequences. "The obstinacy and ill-will of incorrigible individuals who fail to cooperate with the Hitler Youth will be dealt with as they deserve."

It should be mentioned that the next speaker, the local leader of the Hitler Youth, adopted a much more conciliatory and apologetic tone. He begged people to consider that the organization suffered from "a great shortage of leaders," and that the substitute leaders were frequently "very young themselves." He promised that "justified complaints would be scrupulously attended to and all defects remedied immediately." One can assume that the sabotage of the Rostock parents was checked.

This opposition in a specific matter should not lead one to impute a general anti-Nazi attitude to the older generation. The feelings of the average German today are an indistinguishable mixture of all possible ingredients. The strong Nazi fixation of a great majority of parents in the year 1943 is testified to by some curious evidence that has come to hand. The Swiss, whose communications with Germany are intact, occasionally use original methods to explore the German psychology. It occurred to the editors of the *Basler Nachrichten* that the names with which new-born children were christened should be an index to the views of their parents. They therefore examined the announcements of births in a number of German newspapers over a period of weeks, publishing the results on January 20. This odd bit of research revealed that by far the greater number of children had been given extravagantly Germanic-Teutonic-Nordic names—names which before Hitler would have occurred only to fanatical Teuto-maniacs. It is true that the boys' name most frequently chosen was still the familiar Hans, but right after it came, in this order, Volker, Hartmut, Rüdiger, Reinhart, Bernd, Ekkehard, Rainer, Dirk, Jürg, Horst, Uwe—all dug up out of the Teutonic folk epics. The most frequent girls' names had the same extreme Teutonic flavor. The order of preference was Uta, Ute, Elke, Ingeborg, Heidrum, Heide, Karin, Helga, Barbara, Heidemarie, Ingrid, Gudrun, and Heike.

So far as is known, the officials exercise no pressure when the names of infants are registered. The parents have free choice. That the overwhelming majority of them passed over the previously popular classical, international, and Christian names and decided on pretentious anachronisms from the race's romantic sagas is a frankly alarming symptom. Cultural Nazism, which is not less dangerous than political Nazism, must have penetrated pretty deeply beneath the skin.

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America Declares War Against Massacre

GREAT BRITAIN, TOO, HAS A PART TO PLAY!

When the President created the War Refugee Board he established a bridgehead in the battle against massacre. His definition of the board is forthright and clear:

"It was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other minorities of Europe."

Thus, the two *pre*-requisites of rescuing the Jewish people of Europe have been attained:

1. *The need for bringing to a halt the slaughter of the European Jews was established as a primary and immediate objective in the war.*
2. *A powerful instrument was created to assure success in the program of rescue.*

The President's board is the powerful and effective machine, established, at last for saving, among others, Hitler's No. 1 victim, the stricken Jews of Europe.

WITH the appointment of Mr. John W. Pehle as Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, the road is surely paved for immediate and effective action. The choice of Mr. Pehle is singularly fortunate and Mr. Pehle himself is to be congratulated on his appointment to so important, so humanitarian and history-making a position—*for the War Refugee Board is America's high command in the opening battle against massacre.*

IT must be understood, however, that a bridgehead is not the battle itself—it is only the foot-hold that precedes the battle. The President's great move must be interpreted, not as an excuse for relaxation, not merely as an event to celebrate. On the contrary, it must be recognized as a rallying cry—as a stern warning that there is now no time to be lost.

RELIEVED as we are that America has taken up Hitler's challenge on the question of Jewish survival—this alone is not enough. *In our time of global war one government alone cannot solve problems of international character.* The problem of saving the Jews requires the cooperation of other governments in the whole inter-Allied relationship and the cooperation of a few neutrals as well.

RESCUE is mainly a problem of geography. Even were the United States wide open to all escaping Jews, it would be of little immediate help, because of the barriers of national boundaries, and an ocean to be crossed. The rescue, therefore, has to proceed along shorter and safer roads. These lead to Cypress, to North Africa, to Turkey, to Spain. One road, however, is shortest and surest. It leads to Palestine.

PALESTINE is the closest and most practical haven for the escaping Jews. From *Bulgaria to Palestine is nearer than from New York to Miami.* It is only a few days removed from the Axis countries by short, quick water-routes, by train, or even by bus! Palestine is the only country where a population of Jews (600,000 in number) are ready and waiting to receive an equal number of their escaping brethren, to share with them their bread and their homes.

THERE is room in Palestine, a country that *wants* the European Jews. There never was, there is not now, any justification whatsoever for keeping the doors of this country closed to the escaping Jews. There is no justification for the anti-Jewish discrimination laws which exclude Jews alone from entering into Palestine. These discriminatory laws are the remnants of the shameful period of Munich and of appeasement politics.

THE heroic armies of the United Nations are today sweeping back the military hordes of the Nazi Attilla. *It is time that the diplomatic and spiritual leaders of the United Nations sweep away the remnants of those gruesome and monstrous compromises and genuflections before Hitler and his power.* A united public opinion in this country must demand that these discriminatory laws against Jewish immigration to Palestine be abolished immediately so that they no longer bar the way of escape to untold thousands.

BRITAIN—THE KEY

THIS too is not an insurmountable obstacle. The only practical key to the salvation of the Jews to Palestine is England, which gave the world the Magna Charta, the blueprint of liberty and humanity. It is only necessary for this great and gallant ally to realize that the Jews stand in Eastern Europe as they themselves did four short years ago at Dunkirk.

It is not in the tradition of Parliament, which rang to the speeches of Edward Burke, Disraeli and Churchill, that they do not rise in this great moment to take their part in halting one of history's most cruel massacres.

The people of England abhor these discriminations. They have been condemned in public by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who so eloquently said, calling for action, at this very point: *"We all stand before the bar of history, of humanity and of God."*

The Emergency Committee believes that the time has come when we must impress upon a great and heroic ally, Britain, that the people of Israel as well as Coventry and Warsaw are innocent children of God. The Emergency Committee believes that a united public opinion must appeal to a democratic government and the oldest Parliament, which hold the key to the salvation of the Jewish people, to open wide the doors of sanctuary—Palestine.

In urging this, as in urging our own citizens to back the President and the War Refugee Board and Mr. Pehle, the Emergency Committee explicitly avoids political considerations. It is not the business of the Emergency Committee to urge or to work for any post-war definite political settlement. It is not the task of this Committee to effect changes in the political status of Palestine. *The demand to open the doors of Palestine today is humanitarian, not politics. To keep the doors of Palestine shut is—politics,* as Lord Cranbourne, former Secretary of State for Colonies, admitted so candidly in a debate in the House of Lords: "It is not an economic but a political problem."

We speak to the government of Great Britain, not in the name of politics, but in the cause of humanity and compassion:

Declare the doors of Palestine open to the Jews about to be rescued from neighboring countries. Let the Union Jack now wave proudly beside the Stars and Stripes in the common battle against massacre.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

SAMUEL JOHNSON AS CRITIC

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

JOHNSON'S "Lives of the Poets" was issued in two instalments in 1779 and 1781. Few works of criticism in English had ever achieved a more immediate popularity, but the romantic revolution was so close at hand that the editor of the second collected edition of the author's works could say: "With respect to Johnson's powers as a critic, we confess that he had but little natural taste for poetry, as such; for that poetry of the emotions which produces in its cultivators and admirers an intensity of excitement to which language can scarcely afford utterance, to which art can give no body, and which spreads a dream of glory around us."

This is a violent, one might almost say a perverse, overstatement of the case. Pope's famous comparison between the progress of the student and the progress of the Alpine traveler, which ends with the line "Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise," Johnson calls "perhaps the best that English poetry can show." But the passage in which that comparison occurs is certainly one in which the appeal is at least as much emotional as it is intellectual, and the truth is not, as his critic went on to assert, that Johnson "wanted that deep feeling which is the only sure and unerring test of poetic excellence," or that he sought in poetry only the didactic and "wished for reasoning in numbers," but merely that the emotions to which, in his case, poetry could make a successful appeal were not the romantic ones. A man who could never, until forced by necessity, bring himself to reread the concluding scene of "King Lear" was certainly not one whose emotions were untouched by poetry. Had Johnson lived to discover how powerfully certain romantic readers were moved by emotions which they could not name, and how frequently they wept for they knew not what sorrow, he would, in all probability, have said of their poetry reading what he said to Boswell when the latter described the violent and conflicting emotions produced in his soul by the sound of music: "I should never hear it if it made me such a fool." To admit that may be to admit that he was insensitive to even the genuine beauties of romanticism. But it is not to grant that he was incapable of poetic feeling.

It is a pity that present-day readers, who have outgrown many of the romantic prejudices, should nevertheless tend to accept the romantic estimate of Johnson as a critic without taking the trouble to read him or at least without discarding preconceived notions before doing so. Much that stood between him and the nineteenth century has vanished, and both the Preface to his edition of Shakespeare and the "Lives of the Poets" clearly reveal an attitude which we ought to find challenging even when we think we have good reasons for refusing to accept it in all its eighteenth-century downrightness and clarity.

Johnson could become a popular critic partly because his premises and his methods were so well adapted to the understanding of the intelligent layman; because, that is to say, literary interpretation and judgment seemed, as Johnson presented them, to be no more than the application to literary questions of that generally applicable common sense in which the eighteenth century placed its faith. His appeal, as he had so explicitly stated in the Shakespeare Preface, was from authority and pedantic rules to nature, and nature was something which his contemporaries, lay as well as literary, were ready to assume that they clearly understood. But it is important to remember that such criticism is no more clearly distinguished from the pedantic criticism which preceded it than it is from both the romantic criticism which was so shortly to follow and the sort most frequently practiced by the "serious" critics of today.

"Common sense" as applied to literature meant, to begin with, the assumption that neither the aims nor the methods of the literary art were peculiar to it. Literature, the assumption is, seeks to give pleasure and to impart instruction; but neither the pleasure which it gives nor the instruction it provides constitutes any world apart or requires for its proper appreciation any unique faculties. Johnson, of course, would have been indignantly astonished at anything suggesting the doctrine of art for art's sake. He would have been equally astonished to hear of "significant form" or an "aesthetic experience." One of his conscious aims was certainly that of taking literature out of the hands of the pedants. Had he been gifted with the power of foreseeing the future, he would undoubtedly have added another—that of keeping it out of the clutches of the romantics and the aesthetes.

Pedantic criticism and romantic criticism are alike in one important respect. Each addresses itself to some sort of specialist. To understand the first, one must be learned. To understand the second, one needs, it is assumed, a special sensibility which is the exclusive possession of a limited class. Both are therefore to some extent esoteric; both assume, at the very least, that the reader has either a special equipment or a special endowment without which his judgment is worthless. Johnson, on the other hand, takes it for granted that neither the enjoyment nor the understanding of literature requires any capacities or any knowledge not possessed by every intelligent man. There are no unique literary values. No special conceptions, no special sensibilities, no special terms, even, are necessary. Anyone who has the equipment to judge men and manners and morals

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has the equipment to judge literature, for literature is merely a reflection of men and manners and morals.

To say this is, of course, to say that for Johnson there is no realm of the exclusively aesthetic. A thing may be valid in poetry though in accordance with fact only in so far as it can suggest analogy with fact, and if such analogy is not suggested, it is poetically false, as well as false in every other way. For him there is no world of imagination except the world of memory, and the world of evoked memories is a relatively pale one. He pooh-poohed the idea that Garrick or any other actor was carried away by his role. He was equally contemptuous of the idea that any spectator or any reader lost the distinction between fiction and fact, and he would certainly have been even more contemptuous of anyone who professed to find the world of "dreams" or the world of art either more real or as a whole more satisfactory than the world of reality.

What Johnson has to say in the "Lives of the Poets" is precisely the sort of thing that he had to say in his conversation, and he obviously regarded criticism as neither more nor less than good talk about books—which is, in turn, very much like good talk about anything else. He was no less aware than Swinburne or Oscar Wilde that some sort of splendor may surround things wicked or destructive, but he saw no reason why literature should isolate and then acclaim a splendor which experience itself never encounters thus isolated; and the concluding sentence of the following brief passage on Waller's marriage to a lady who was not his "Sacharissa" is in its own quiet way an anticipation of Max Beerbohm's *reductio ad absurdum* in his satiric essay on the vulgarity of fire departments. Wrote Johnson of Waller:

> He, doubtless, praised some whom he would have been afraid to marry, and, perhaps, married one whom he would have been ashamed to praise. Many qualities contribute to domestic happiness upon which poetry has no colors to bestow; and many airs and sallies may delight imagination which he who flatters them never can approve. There are charms made only for distant admiration. No spectacle is nobler than a blaze.

It is obvious that the reader who seeks in Johnson for certain things which he finds or thinks he finds in some later critics will come away disappointed. He will not, to begin with, find Johnson discovering neglected genius or habitually reversing accepted judgments. Johnson happened, it is true, to run counter to the general opinion in the case of Milton, but on the whole his effort, even there, was to minimize rather than to emphasize the extent of his dissent, and Milton is the only important poet except perhaps Gray upon whom Johnson puts a value conspicuously different from that generally accorded him by conservative opinion. In the Life of Addison he observed that "about things on which the public thinks long, it commonly attains to think right." It had thought long on Dryden and Pope and the other poets. Its decision is therefore final, for as he had remarked in connection with some pettishness exhibited by Dryden, "what is good only because it pleases, cannot be pronounced good till it has been found to please."

More important perhaps is the fact that disappointment awaits also the reader who expects from a critic those flashes of half-mystical illumination which were to seem so important in the work of somewhat later exponents of criticism. Johnson would certainly have regarded the claims of "intuition" as skeptically as he did those of the transcendental imagination. He would never have aspired to supply the lightning by which Shakespeare or anybody else could be read, and he would have doubted the value of reading done by the aid of any light so dazzling or so fitful. The romantic critic was usually dominated by a sense that the literature upon which he proposed to comment had never been properly understood before. He felt himself surrounded by the mysteries of an undiscovered country and hence perpetually upon the threshold of dazzling discoveries. Johnson never supposed that he or any other critic could be "creative," and he did not even suppose that unsuspected beauties of major importance remained to be discovered. Pope and Dryden had, like Shakespeare, been appreciated too long and too enthusiastically to permit the supposition that any of their principal excellences had been unobserved or inadequately valued. Had he lived to see the first two dismissed, and Shakespeare treated as a poet whom ten generations had admired but never understood, he would certainly have risen to the defense of a public which had thought long and therefore correctly. Discrimination and judgment, not paradox and revelation, were the chief business of the critic.

This critic has every right to pass judgment on the poet. No claims to inspiration or membership in a sacred fraternity put the latter above the reach of censure. What is too silly to be said in prose remains no less unacceptable when put into verse. But the critic derives his right from the rights of the general public of which he is a part—not from the fact that he *is* a critic. He will generally agree with the public's considered judgment because literature is to be judged not in the light of learning—which most readers do not have—or by its effect upon sensibilities undreamed of except by the few, but in accordance with the same common sense which guides us as we go about the business of life.

Those who read the "Lives of the Poets" not with disappointment but with delight get from it something more than merely Johnson's sensible estimate of the merits and the defects of those whom he is discussing. But this something is simply the same thing which they get from the records of his conversation on literary and other topics—namely, the play of a vigorous and entertaining mind over a wide range of subjects. His criticism is not personal in the sense of proposing an account of the adventures of a soul among masterpieces. Its manner is objective, and its aim is to make statements which the reader will accept as true for himself and for all normal men. This criticism is, however, intensely personal in the sense that the manner and the matter alike are so highly characteristic of Johnson that the reader who knew him through his conversation and his other work would have little difficulty in identifying the author even if the "Lives" were unsigned. Johnson believed in the all-but-exclusive importance of what has come in our time to be called "public" truths and methods of expression as opposed to "private" ones, but he makes no attempt at "scientific" detachment. In one sense no criticism was ever less "pure." What one gets is, among other things, Johnson on Pope. But one gets the whole Johnson in a sense that one does not get the whole of the personal critic who self-consciously

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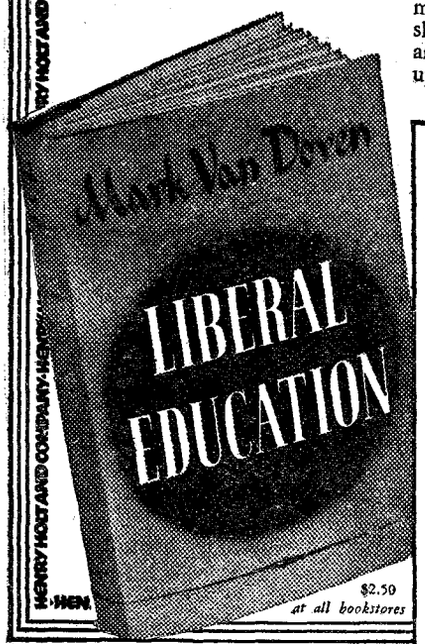

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proclaims his determination to talk about himself in connection with Pope or with Shakespeare. What one gets is, in other words, a personality revealing itself rather than a personality determined to reveal itself. Perhaps, one might add, a personality revealing itself rather than one showing itself off.

Whatever the admirers of this or that special sort of criticism may feel that Johnson fails to give them, there is rarely a page in which he does not give something shrewd or penetrating or ingenious or amusing. Speaking of the metaphysical poets, he first dismisses Pope's famous definition of "true wit" as too tame and then proceeds:

> If by a more noble and more adequate conception that be considered as wit which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is upon its first production acknowledged to be just; if it be that which he that never found it wonders how he missed; to wit of this kind the metaphysical poets have seldom risen. Their thoughts are often new, but they are seldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they just; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found.

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> To write on their plan it was, at least, necessary to read and think. No man could be born a metaphysical poet; nor assume the dignity of a writer by descriptions copied from descriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery and hereditary similes, by readiness of rhyme and volubility of syllables.

Johnson seldom fails to be memorable even when he is wrong, and his criticism is seldom other than interesting even when it is not, by strict definition, criticism at all. The pleasure which we get from reading him is often, at least, as much the pleasure of learning about Johnson as it is that of learning about Dryden, Pope, Milton, and the rest; and if to say that is, in the opinion of the austere, to say that he is not really a critic, one can only reply that he is at least something which it would be a pity to miss. He himself would have considered it the reverse of dispraise had he been accused of mingling moral, social, or even merely prudential considerations with aesthetic ones, for he would have maintained that the last are nonsense when isolated from the context, which must always be present for anyone who is not some sort of literary hermit or monster. He did not think of his literary criticism as something which ought to be essentially different from the general criticism of life, which he had made it his business to offer since he first began to write. No praise would have seemed to him higher than that implied in a statement which some would make with derogatory intention: "The 'Lives of the Poets' are not written by a scholar or by an aesthetician. They are, on the contrary, the work of a man whose wide knowledge of men and manners included, in due proportion, a knowledge of what men had written and of what they had found, by the test of time, worth reading."

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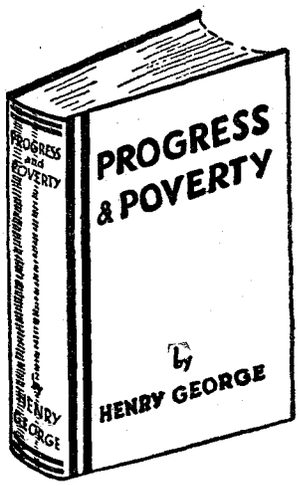

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Take It from Stowe

THEY SHALL NOT SLEEP. By Leland Stowe. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

ONE of the appalling discoveries of anyone returning from abroad nowadays is how much time people here spend reading newspapers and how little they understand. No nation is more abundantly supplied with information, nowhere does the level of accurate reporting approach our own, and only in the most benighted lands is there more widespread confusion about meanings. The explanation perhaps lies in a slight rewording of an epigram of Henry Adams's —"Nothing in journalism is so astonishing as the amount of ignorance it collects in inert facts."

Leland Stowe has written a book which puts legs and even wings on facts. Not all of them are new facts, but his book is far more than a mere recooking of his foreign dispatches. It is an interpretation of the war and its meaning in many countries, from China to America; and it is based on exceptionally wide travel and varied experience. Such a book necessarily repeats things already known to us, but the additional information presented—which censorship suppressed overseas—the personal impressions and the analysis of a skilled observer, the human contacts revealed, all together make "They Shall Not Sleep" itself a piece of news of major importance.

Mr. Stowe was abroad seventeen months and covered some critical events in Burma, China, India, and Russia. He tells how Burma fell and what led to the débâcle, describes Kuomintang China as he found it in contrast to the "romantic" view prevalent in this country, reports on India during the abortive Cripps negotiations and explains why they failed, and gives a good picture of life in Russia during the summer and autumn of 1942. He ends up with about 30,000 words of comment—a useful little book in itself, and one that the War Department would be well advised to reprint for our men in uniform—which analyzes our relations with Russia, examines our State Department policy, warns Americans to wake up to the political realities, one of which he thinks is inevitably a socialist Europe, and emphasizes the danger of losing the peace—which he believes would mean a third world war.

Admittedly that's a big assignment for one reporter and one book, but it must be remembered that correspondents cover the earth in airplanes these days and Americans must adjust their political thinking to the facts which make that possible.

In China, where Stowe arrived "without any faint conception of the oppressive poverty and squalor which eats the flesh of one-fifth of humanity" and with illusions of a happy democracy fighting an all-out anti-fascist war, he was amazed to discover a one-party dictatorship in many ways resembling totalitarian Germany. Freedom of the press, speech, organization, and assembly did not exist. He found squeeze and corruption among high army officers and officials, a monopoly of transport on the Burma road and elsewhere. He found some of them preoccupied with plans to suppress the Communist armies, blockaded from all outside help, rather than with fighting Japan.

In Burma the British "disintegrated because they were products of a system—an exploitative and standstill, anti-progressive system." In India, where as in Burma "the vast natural wealth has been drawn out of the country for the enrichment of a small band of foreign capitalists who have no other interest in the people who are the sources of their fortunes," the awakening was "too little and too late." Only the absence of an invasion, he reports, saved the system from collapse.

In Russia, where this reviewer's path happened to cross Stowe's, he got one of the few genuine scoops of the war, where scoops are hard to come by. He went off for a week to the front, all by himself, and came back with a story which he here retells. Summarizing his experience, he concludes that we can "live with Russia," peacefully and profitably, by recognizing that its primary needs are peace and security in which to rebuild the devastated areas, and foreign cooperation for that aim, if it can get it.

Stowe reminds us of Russia's terrible blood sacrifices for victory and makes a good point in asking Americans, when judging Russian policy, to imagine themselves Russians and picture their feelings. It is necessary for us to use this method not only about Russia but about every country in the world, and although this may seem a simple thing to demand it is astounding how seldom people do it, even when actually living in a foreign country.

In the broad canvas Stowe covers there are only a few minor errors of reporting. One of them, for example, is his interpretation of the background of Demaree Bess's articles about North Africa, in the *Saturday Evening Post*. On the

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whole his book is remarkably accurate, considering its scope, and one in which this writer, having himself lately visited every country Stowe describes, finds no major contention not borne out by facts. EDGAR SNOW

Sir Thomas Beecham

A MINGLED CHIME: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Sir Thomas Beecham. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

BEECHAM writes (p. 60) that in the summer of 1899, in which he attended disappointing performances of Wagner at Bayreuth, he devoted his spare time to study of "a large bundle" of Brahms's scores, and "formed then the opinion which I have since been unable to vary, that Brahms was essentially a romantic composer, as far removed as is conceivable from the true classical spirit, and generally at his best in smaller forms." Shortly afterward (p. 82) a performance of a Grétry opera in Paris caused him to assemble all the scores he could find of this composer and his contemporaries and to make copies of those that were out of print; and he writes that in the music of Grétry "there is a lightness, a grace, and a melodic invention surpassed only by Mozart, while in that of Méhul there is a vein of simple and chivalric romance to be found in no other composer of the day except Weber." He observes (p. 192) that "in 'Petrouchka' the charm and poetry that peer out of nearly every page of his earlier *tour de force* 'L'Oiseau de feu' rarely make their appearance, the chief characteristics being a rhythm of extraordinary variety and vigor, a *bizarrerie* which although entirely different from that of Strauss is equally individual, and a fleeting hint of pathos that we find nowhere else in Stravinsky's work. It is in fact one of the musical landmarks of the past thirty years, and however interesting the later works of its composer may appear to that section of his followers which expects a fresh development of style from him every other year, I do not think that he has yet given birth to a second piece in which the best elements of his art are so perfectly blended." He came to realize (p. 295) that a first-rate operatic organization could be maintained only with government assistance: "Individual seasons might now and then be run at a trifling loss, and third- or fourth-rate companies could even make a little profit . . . on the condition of adhering relentlessly to a standard of performance liable at any moment to cause the outraged spirit of some dead master to walk the earth again like that of Hamlet's father." And (p. 169) in deference to the letters of protest from every corner of England "we arranged for an early conference at which 'Salome' would be trimmed so as to make it palatable to the taste of that large army of objectors who would never see it."

I give these statements not only for themselves but in order to convey the material of the book and the qualities of its author which make it that rare thing—a book concerned with musical matters that is worth reading and highly readable. What contributes to making it readable is the fact that it is written by a man whose strong interest in music is only one of the interests of an educated Englishman,

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and whose writing about music is therefore enriched constantly by his reading of literature and sharpened by his keen eye for human absurdity. On the other hand it includes confident *obiter dicta* on world economics and politics which make one grit one's teeth and rush ahead to the next of the observations on music that are so sound, perceptive, brilliant.

These observations tell us a great deal about Beecham—the intensity and unusual range of his musical interest, the excellence of his understanding and taste. And they are made in the course of an account of his activities up to 1924 which tells us more about him that is interesting to know. Journalism—first in England, then in America—has built up the idea of him as a rich amateur who, lacking professional training, used his money to create for himself the opportunities to do the things in music for which he was not prepared and equipped, and who by blundering along in this way long enough acquired competence in doing them—but even then only the competence of a rich dilettante. Actually he began as a youngster endowed with musical talent of professional caliber who happened to be the son of a rich man; and being untroubled by the guilt which has led some American sons of millionaires into neurotic contortions and expiation in the form of support of the Communists' termite activities, he used his father's money to buy himself scores of all the music he was interested in, instruction in all the instruments he wanted to familiarize himself with, and in harmony, counterpoint, orchestration, composition, and in this way to give himself a musical training as thorough and professional as a young German with the same talent would have obtained at one of the state conservatories. And at the point where the German would have begun to obtain practical experience and skill in conducting by beginning to conduct in a small state opera house, Beecham began to obtain the same practical experience and skill by knocking about with a touring opera company; where the German would have moved on to larger state opera houses, Beecham helped to finance the orchestras, choruses, and opera companies with which he enriched the musical life of his country at the same time as he developed himself into one of the world's great musicians. If money has ever been better used I haven't heard about it.

B. H. HAGGIN

The Future of Germany

GERMANY AFTER HITLER. By Paul Hagen. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.

GERMANY WILL TRY IT AGAIN. By Sigrid Schultz. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.

WHAT TO DO WITH GERMANY. By Louis Nizer. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. $2.50.

WHAT shall we do about Germany after we have obtained its unconditional surrender? Our leaders, mindful perhaps of the old adage about first catching your rabbit, are reticent on this subject. But their silence has done nothing to discourage unofficial cooks from publishing a wide variety of plain and fancy recipes.

Here we have the proposals of three of them with three

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very different backgrounds and approaches to the subject. Paul Hagen is a young man but a veteran in the war against Hitler. He was one of the Socialists who attempted to instil new life into the German Social Democratic Party in the dark days when the Weimar Republic was breaking up. He was a leader in the underground movement after Hitler took over. Now he looks hopefully to a United Nations victory and a new opportunity for a democratic Germany.

Sigrid Schultz can also write with authority on Germany. American born, of Norwegian descent, she received part of her education there and later spent over twenty years in Berlin as a correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune* (a fact which should not be held against her). Her main purpose in this book is not to present any program for the future of Germany but to warn us that the pan-German movement, with its belief in Germany's right to dominate, preceded Hitler, and will try to survive him.

Louis Nizer, a successful American attorney, has, so far as one can tell from his book, no first-hand knowledge of Germany or indeed of Europe. He has read widely but not too wisely, as is shown by his citation of Caesar and Tacitus to prove the ingrained aggressiveness of the Germans. If my memory serves, J. Caesar had some fairly unpleasant remarks to make about British barbarians also; and did not the Teutons of whom Tacitus wrote include some of the tribes which later invaded England? However, when writing about the problems presented by the prosecution of war criminals Mr. Nizer is interesting if not especially profound.

Both Miss Schultz and Mr. Nizer write in a don't-let-us-be-fooled-again vein, and it is easy to agree with them about the stupidity of being tough on paper and weak in practice. But we should beware the tendency to believe that if we squelch German aggression once and for all, the problem of European peace will be solved. Aggression is not a German patent, even if the Germans have been outstanding in adding new wrinkles to it, and the task of the peacemakers will be to attempt a settlement which will inhibit aggression anywhere by anyone.

It is at least possible, in view of the Nazis' *Götterdämmerung* strategy, that Germany will be so weakened morally and physically before it surrenders that it will not recover for generations, if ever. It may suffer a catastrophe comparable to that it experienced in the Thirty Years' War—a prime factor, as Hagen rightly points out, in its political and social retardation. It might sink into an apathetic state of permanent invalidism. This would not be a healthy development for its neighbors. We need to remember how sinister an influence Turkey exercised on the morals of its would-be heirs in the days when it was the Sick Man of Europe.

For similar reasons, it would be fatal either to divide Germany into separate states or to carve it up and distribute the pieces. This would start a game of grab, and the winning countries would find themselves cursed with irredentist sores which would inevitably infect their political systems. Both our American authors agree with Hagen that any attempt to dismember Germany should be ruled out. So too, they reject, as any civilized person must, proposals to expunge Germany either by extermination of its inhabitants or by mass sterilization. Let those who disagree volunteer to man the firing squads and the surgical wards.

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Assuming, then, that Germany retains its identity more or less within its 1919 boundaries, what is its future to be, and how is it to be led to the paths of peace and democracy? All three of these books agree on one thing—that the economic roots of pan-Germanism must be utterly destroyed. This means that the Junker landowners, who have held a hereditary position of privilege, must be expropriated and that the great industrialists, who made their businesses political instruments, must be liquidated. It was these forces, operating behind the Weimar façade, that prepared the ground for Hitler. As long as they retain their economic basis of power, no development of democracy in Germany is possible.

I confess that my study of Lord Vansittart's ideas has been cursory, but I am under the impression that he missed this vital point. And, indeed, we must expect strong opposition by British and American conservatives alike to the destruction of property rights. After the occupation there is all too much reason to fear that Allied administrators will tend to listen to offers of cooperation from German counts and bank directors. Displaying charming manners and speaking perfect English, these men will explain that they were always opposed to the Nazis and express their eagerness to help the Allies preserve the country from anarchy. To fall for this confidence trick would be the first fatally easy step toward a pan-German revival. The alternative policy is outlined quietly but convincingly by Paul Hagen. He knows that the Germans must create their own democracy, and he does not shirk the obstacles they will have to overcome. He realizes that Germany cannot disclaim responsibility for Hitler, that it must serve humbly to recover its honor and work hard to make reparation. But he asks that the democratic revolution shall not be impeded and that the burdens imposed shall not be such as to leave Germany without any glimmering of hope.

Hagen points out that revolutionary situations usually arise from the military defeat of despotic powers, but I question his assumption that such a situation must be favorable for a *democratic* revolution. Liberties cannot be won *for* a people, only *by* a people. Historically they have been achieved when men have fought for them, taking the risk of challenging a strongly intrenched despotism. That is how the United States, England, and France won their revolutions. The German workers lost theirs because in 1918, presented with a revolution by the Allied nations, they failed to grasp the substance of power, contenting themselves with its shadow. And at the moment when they might have challenged and overcome the rising power of Nazism, when von Papen's high-handed dismissal of the Socialist Prussian government gave them a fighting issue, they hung back, too respectable, too afraid of the consequences, to seize the opportunity.

Because I agree with Hagen that Germany can only save its soul through revolution and because I question the worth of a revolution brought about primarily by outside force, I would like to see some consideration given to a proposal reported by Miss Schultz as coming from underground leaders. It is, briefly, that in the moment of victory, when the German army is thoroughly defeated and retreats within its own borders, the Allies should establish an iron ring around the German frontiers and let the German people fight it out.

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The suggestion is that the army leaders would fall out with the Nazis, and that while a bloody struggle between the two was in progress, mutinous soldiers would supply the population with arms and give them a chance to cleanse their country and establish a democratic regime. It is most unlikely that any such plan will be adopted, but one way or another any lasting reform of Germany must come from within.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Smaller than Art

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO JOYCE. By Elmer Edgar Stoll. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

PROFESSOR STOLL is, of course, one of the best-known living students of Shakespeare, but I must confess that beyond a stray essay or two I had read nothing of his before I took up "From Shakespeare to Joyce." In view of the imposing list of his books, my skimpy acquaintance with him made me hesitate about reviewing this one. Having read it, however, I am encouraged to believe that I know the nature and range of Professor Stoll's ideas fairly well. Nor is this a matter of *ex pede Herculem.* It is not only that, with almost excessive obligingness, Professor Stoll has correlated his present comments with more than a hundred footnotes involving his previous books. It is even more that his cardinal contentions are few and that they are stated with notable emphasis and restated with immoderate frequency.

Professor Stoll's title suggests a rather comprehensive study of most of English literature; the book itself, however, is largely confined to the period between Shakespeare and Congreve and, even so, seeks much less to assess or analyze writers than to use them as a tiltyard for certain attitudes about art. Professor Stoll's two main attitudes can perhaps, without too great unfairness, be whittled down to this: that a work of art must be taken at its face value, and that art and life are two very different things. The two attitudes partly coalesce in that they both deny for art any larger frame of reference. The face-value theory forbids us to bring to bear any historical, social, or psychological data that might provide a work of art with interior illumination or additional meaning—"In all art," says Professor Stoll, "what is not expressed does not exist." The art-differs-from-life theory goes well beyond the obvious recognition that art is neither photographic nor formless; it is that great art is "exaggeration." Professor Stoll quotes many times Corneille's *"Les grands sujets de la tragédie . . . doivent toujours aller au delà du vraisemblable."*

Up to a certain point, of course, Professor Stoll's first contention has a corrective value and his second contention a palpable validity. Doubtless the trend of literary criticism, as influenced by Taine, Marx, and Freud, has become a little oppressively historical, sociological, and psychoanalytic. Aesthetic criticism, with the eye square on the object rather than around and behind it, has accordingly suffered—and, along with it, our responsiveness to art has suffered too. But Professor Stoll's attitude forfeits most of its usefulness by reason of its extremism. It puts a work of art in a vacuum; it condemns as extraneous and injurious all those factors—social, historical, psychological—that make up the sensibility

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of an age; it assumes that a work of art only states and does not suggest; it denies to criticism the right to be suggesting and exploratory in turn. "Hamlet," God knows, has been twisted into a hundred shapes, some of them remarkably queer; but on the other hand if the full truth emerged unmistakably from what was "expressed," could a hundred theories have ever been formed about it?

Professor Stoll's separation of art and life seems to me equally excessive. To be sure, Professor Stoll is principally concerned with Greek and Elizabethan tragedy, where a bigger-than-life effect is paramount and where Aristotle's pregnant contention that plot counts above character is richly vindicated. But Mr. Stoll condemns later literature for turning realistic, for choosing "an action derived from the character." But since Shakespeare's time the distance between art and life has grown less: however vulnerable "realism" itself has proved, the realistic impulse—if only as something to rebel against—has pervaded literature. For one thing, our heroes, unlike the kings and great men of action of classical art, have become much more like ourselves. Art has had to abandon the old intensities for modern complexities, and these complexities involve the "psychology" that Professor Stoll presumably considers the arch-foe of "drama." Hence for him to insist dogmatically that "the essential and vital material of art is not actual experience but . . . an imaginative one" is to generalize unwarrantably. Any kind of experience—actual, observational, oneiric, or imaginative—can provide the essential material; what counts is the transforming and plastic power of the artist. Professor Stoll cannot lock up literature with the great but rusty key of classical tragedy; it is not, after all, a master-key. Imaginative experience may have created "Othello," but personal experience and direct observation were largely the "material" of works of art from "Tom Jones" to "A la recherche du temps perdu." Improbability and exaggeration may help make "King Lear" something bigger than life; but it is scope and multiplicity that make "War and Peace" something bigger than life.

But what further damages Professor Stoll's main contentions is the critical intelligence behind them. Strait-jacketed by his theories, Professor Stoll brings to literature such a rigid mind and conditioned sensibility that, while strongly insisting that we must judge works of art on their own terms, he happily proceeds to judge them on his. Moreover, one cannot avoid the suspicion that Professor Stoll's separation of art and life rests no less on a temperamental need than on an aesthetic theory. There are indications of an academic nature that can cope with art only when it is put behind glass, when its soundness or faultiness can be gauged by having recourse to the rules rather than to experience.

There are natures—in some respects, the most valuable sort of natures—that react to art as a purely aesthetic experience; natures that possess extraordinary taste, sensibility, and discernment. But Professor Stoll's is not one of them. He is, indeed, so uncertain in taste, wobbly in judgment, and stodgy in outlook that, for all his erudition and cerebration, he must be considered rather a controversialist than a critic. We can hardly put much trust in a man who includes Wilde in a list of "the greatest English poets and critics since Milton's day," or who considers Browning greater than Dickens or Balzac. We can hardly keep patient with a man

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who, while presumably operating at the most enlightened level of criticism, reports that our current "high-class" novels "cannot . . . be read in the family circle aloud." We can hardly keep a straight face with a man who, feeling that Guinness's needs defining to begin with, defines it as "the Hibernian intemperance beverage." We can hardly credit a man with the psychological awareness of an undergraduate who, as proof of the folly of interpreting a writer through his work, cites the fact that Kipling glorified the practical man and Scott and Stevenson the adventurous! And when Professor Stoll moves in on contemporary literature, the results are striking indeed; his squeamishness is unimportant when set beside his misapprehensions. The strangest people are linked together in the strangest pursuits; and anyone, it would almost seem, who is more advanced than the Victorians is disposed of as part of "the Vanguard." There isn't room to enumerate Professor Stoll's vagaries; suffice it that Max Lerner bobs up as a "coterie-writer." Psychoanalysis is, of course, the primal curse and Joyce the leading miscreant. Professor Stoll has—I should think; I've read only a small part of it—a pretty good case with "Finnegans Wake," in the sense that the labor involved is out of all proportion to the rewards. But he plumb ruins his case by making it the point of his attack that there virtually are no rewards.

Finally—and not just captiously—we have reason to wonder whether Professor Stoll can even be a judge of good writing when, time and again, he passes for the press such writing as this:

> As the King breaks with both daughters, cries out upon them, anticipates madness, and rushes out upon the heath into the tempest, the action, as we have noticed, reaches the climax; and the part of the scene that is in question—that is, the latter part, but still before the absolute rupture, when he turns, repulsed, from one daughter to the other,—is stylized in the sense that, not a trait of character, but the emotional motif of his forlornness and abandonment is presented, and is developed to the limit—even at the character's expense—as he falls back upon Goneril, whom he had cursed and at the sight of whom on her entrance, a few minutes before, he has appealed to the heavens.

Make mine "Finnegans Wake."

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Architects of Young America

GREEK REVIVAL ARCHITECTURE IN AMERICA: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life Prior to the War Between the States. By Talbot Hamlin. Oxford University Press. $7.50.

IN AMERICAN architectural writing the position of Talbot Hamlin is unique. No one else with any such gift of lucidity and such breadth of scholarly knowledge is writing, in these exacerbating times, with such serenity and such friendliness to the whole range of creative architectural effort. Hamlin is as warm to the aims of the youngest designers of our time as he is to the architecture of a hundred years ago which is his special hobby. In his approach he models for the architect as the antithesis of the soldier; wherever harmony and good-will are lost, the architect is

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defeated. Today any such writing must carry a certain monastic flavor; you withdraw to it when you want to regain touch with that large spirit that must rebuild the world.

The term "Greek Revival" is, as Dean Arnaud says in his introduction, something of a misnomer. Not only were the architects and their patrons "American first, Greek second," but in some ways architecture was for the first time fully American. The Greek part of it was essentially a system of decoration—or an organizing device that served to put thought in order. This was the mask under which America started to grow a face. In the process the mask itself gradually dissolved. A familiar story appears again and again in the early part of the book, of condescension from foreigners at just those points where the canons were giving way to new needs and a new spirit; so creation had begun. The significance of the time was at least threefold: it marked the beginning of cultural independence from colonialism; it saw the first professional group of American architects; it witnessed, above all, the development of all sorts of new American building plans marking new ways of living as the country underwent a vast expansion.

In general histories of architecture plans are reproduced all too rarely. Even in this book, with its unusual number, we don't get half enough; but these—many of them from the splendid Historical American Buildings Survey—suffice to dispose of the widespread myth that the architect of the Greek Revival period, when he built a house, merely reproduced a Greek temple in wooden miniature and then filled it full of holes. The diversity was remarkable, as was the skill. Good plans have a way of cutting across styles, and such a plan as that of the Sears house—now modified as the Somerset Club—in Boston, by Alexander Parris, would be contemporary, with only unimportant changes, tomorrow. Again, this was the period of Western settlement; and a proliferation of plans, especially house plans, would have taken place under any stylistic mantle. So this story of a "middle period" in American building embraces, despite the limiting title, the establishment of important types such as the Midwestern farmhouse, with its L- and T-shaped arrangement—and recessed porch in one or more side wings—and one-story plans like the Kentucky one on page 243, which with minor changes would again be strikingly "modern." The scope, range, and explicit scholarship of Professor Hamlin's study make it the finest source, on a country-wide scale, of information on this basic building development for those of us who hitherto have known only the types of the Eastern cities, or the Southern plantations, with perhaps the usual smattering about the Vieux Carré in New Orleans.

Architects will find special interest in the detailed account of their first professional brethren. A turning-point was marked. Thus the competition for the national Capitol was won by Thornton, an amateur; but "all of his chief assistants and followers were architects in the modern sense of the word." Before that, most designs had been in the hands of foreign architects or, mainly, carpenter-builders. Familiar cries are heard, such as Latrobe's complaint against the Philadelphia Carpenters' Company: "My very follies and faults and whims have been mimicked, and yet there is not a single instance in which I have been consulted." But again there is the counter-criticism from Michigan: "I suppose [the governor went out of the state for his plans] because the Mechanics of Michigan do not assume that dignified name *Architect!* or any of those *lofty* titles as Esq'rs, &c. The elevation approved is of the Gothic style of architecture, painted up to the eyes, *splendid* in appearance, but will be paltry in execution, on account of the limited means."

The volume is divided on a regional basis, and inhabitants of the major regions will use it as a veritable handbook in which to look up the local edifices, whether houses, public buildings, or institutions.

Such a wealth of talent was at work that execution and expression, of course, varied greatly. The use of Greek details was, as Professor Hamlin reiterates, far from slavish; indeed, many of the problems had no Greek precedents and were solved by new extensions, as for example the domed vault of the Subtreasury Building in New York.

In any event it would aid understanding to think of the Greek forms as a *convention*, one which was fortunately simple, pliant, and incisive. The exalted level-headedness and elevated clarity which the convention nurtured in the best work were qualities that could continue even after the Greek matrix was dropped, and do continue in one strain of contemporary work in which there is no visible trace of an anthemion.

In the last revealing chapter, Why the Greek Revival Flourished and Why It Failed, there is a penetrating summary of that free, tolerant, and libertarian early American culture which had "discovered that it is better to see and hear beautiful things than ugly ones; had, in a word, waked up from a nightmare."

DOUGLAS HASKELL

Grim Diary

WAR DIARY. By Jean Malaquais. Translated from the French by Peter Grant. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.75.

I DON'T imagine that many readers will greatly cherish Jean Malaquais's war diary just now, even though it has been warmly commended by André Gide and admirably translated by Peter Grant. The diary pictures modern war—both the politics of it and the business of soldiering—in a starkly unheroic light reminiscent of Cummings's "The Enormous Room"; and as everyone knows, the time to publish an "Enormous Room" is *after* a war. Furthermore Malaquais writes, at times, a pretty self-conscious prose; even under heavy shell fire he can produce such glib rhetoric as the following: "I knew clearly, in that instant, that all those on our side and all those on the other, and all those who under the impassive gaze of the sky vomit out their life—I knew that what brought them close to me was the incommensurable grandeur of their loneliness." This is the kind of strained eloquence that one expects, not of a real French intellectual, but of an intellectual as imagined by some French novelist—say, a Jerphanion created by a Jules Romains. And the truth may well be that Malaquais, an uncompromising leftist, has suffered a kind of emotional deterioration as a result of his political isolation. Because he holds beliefs which have had less and less to do with immediate political realities and choices, he has been forced into a position where even the

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most sincere convictions and the most deeply felt anguish sound at times like exhibitionism. The sense of unreality—though not necessarily the histrionics—is no doubt a familiar phenomenon today, and many radicals experience it in proportion as they retain their earlier beliefs. Malaquais's is a new and more desperate "lost generation."

But Malaquais, the author of "Men from Nowhere," is in general a very promising writer, and his war diary, despite its faults, is a serious account of a man's conflict with a militarized world. The conflict is first of all a simple one between an uncommonly sensitive individual and the rude promiscuities of army life. Many writers have evidently been glad enough to surrender their equivocal artist's status—to escape its responsibilities, if you like—in exchange for a soldier's wider social recognition and more regulated life. Malaquais, called up into the French army in September, 1939, frankly resented the process and despised his fellow-soldiers. To him they seemed to accept militarization "not so much on account of the compulsion which obliges them to, as because of the license which they find in it"; and a large part of his diary is taken up with recording his disgust at the obscenity, drunkenness, belching, and wind-letting with which he was surrounded. We can't fail to sympathize with him; quartered with his squad in a miserable shed, he doubtless had an unusually cruel exposure to these familiar forms of animal crudity. But Malaquais generalizes too much; he is not content until he has converted his emotion into a kind of all-enveloping misanthropy—a misanthropy which is all righteous indignation and little wit and which interferes with his attempts to describe his fellow-soldiers. Later on, it is true, he finds more acceptable companions; and after Hitler invades France he is too busy escaping from the Nazis to write very reflectively of mankind. Yet even amid the great rout of the French population in June, 1940, he pauses to observe with horror some odd eruptions of unregenerate human nature: a curé who suddenly and for no reason throws a strange girl from her bicycle and tramples her, screaming, "She's a whore! She's a spy!" and two fleeing women who perform an impromptu bacchanale in the road until some soldiers, noticing, break ranks and rush upon them. Certainly Malaquais—who is in fact a Pole by birth—has no part in the indulgent naturalism of the French tradition.

But his quarrel with mankind has more behind it than simply the outraged fastidiousness implied by his physical disgusts. His feeling that man is a beast seems to be connected with his belief that man has proved himself a hopeless political coward in refusing to put an end to "this accursed system of human relations which exhausts its genius preparing one massacre on top of another." It is true that he shares the old Marxist conviction that we are what we are because of what he calls "social coercion." But this belief, formerly an optimistic one which expected man's nature to improve in proportion as he was freed from economic exploitation, is now for Malaquais a doctrine of despair. And from his experience it would be easy to decide that Marxism has come full circle, beginning with an unlimited faith in human possibilities and ending with unlimited pessimism; and a philosophical reactionary might try to draw appropriate conclusions. But even assuming that such conclusions could be safely based on one individual's experience, it is true that Malaquais himself tries to warn us against any such procedure. His diary, he tells us, is purely emotional; the jottings in it "express sensations, only rarely thoughts."

The diary ends in July, 1940, after describing with great reportorial brilliance how Malaquais escaped from a column of French war prisoners as they were about to be herded across the Rhine.

F. W. DUPEE

Wingate in Burma

WINGATE'S RAIDERS. By Charles J. Rolo. The Viking Press.

LITTLE has been written about one of the most incredible episodes of the war. Last spring Brigadier (now Major General) Orde Charles Wingate smuggled a force of several thousand Allied troops from India into the very heart of northern Burma under the noses of the Japanese occupants. "Wingate's Mob" stayed there two months, wrecking communications, doing other mischief which cannot yet be revealed, and perfecting a technique of jungle warfare. This sub rosa invasion forced the Japanese to divert thousands of troops which they might have used against the Chinese in Yunnan or, perhaps, for an invasion of India.

Not the least incredible part of the tale is Orde Wingate himself, one of the military freaks, like Lawrence of Arabia, which England periodically produces. Wingate seems to be odder than most. His cantankerous contempt for his superiors in the British army would have landed anyone else in

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the guardhouse, but General Wavell knew genius when he saw it. If Wingate indulged one of his several manias by spraying Flit on the bald heads of two visiting generals—well, they would just have to put up with it. If Wingate was such a religious fanatic that he coded his military messages in Biblical quotations—well, he did get results.

The whole idea of the invasion of Burma last spring was so crazy that the British army wouldn't give Wingate first-line troops. He had to take draftees: factory hands from Liverpool and Manchester. First he spent six months making jungle fighters out of these city men; he taught them how to kill in the dark, how to march without leaving tracks, how to scare off wild animals, how to cook pythons. When his guerrilla invaders had finished their havoc in Burma, there seemed little hope of getting back to India; the entire reinforced Japanese army in northern Burma was on their trail. Wingate's own column stayed motionless in the jungle for a week, hoping to fool the Japanese. During that nerve-racking week Wingate recited poetry to his starving men—but in a whisper, lest enemy scouts hear. He softly lectured them on the painting of the eighteenth century. He argued quietly, stubbornly, that Wimpy in the comic strip was a more human character than Popeye. When it came time to kill the mules for food, Wingate knew how to do so without firing a tell-tale shot; he slit the carotid arteries, explaining the operation as would a surgeon in medical school. More men returned to India than Wingate originally had expected.

The story of Wingate's Mob is told by Charles J. Rolo, a young man in his twenties who works for the British Information Services in the United States. He talked to men who came out from the raid and had access to the official records. One would think that he had been along. His feat of creative chronicling is comparable to that of William L. White in "They Were Expendable." He picked up the human details that make the story live and wove them together with the skill of a dramatist.

The Wingate raid proved several interesting and heartening points. First, British men from Manchester and Liverpool could be turned into better jungle fighters than the Japanese, given the right leader. Second, a large army could exist in enemy-held territory without land communication with its home base. Wingate's men were supplied entirely by airplanes that dropped all their food and ammunition; and also dropped such items as mail, false teeth, a monocle, and an autographed copy of the new biography of Shaw. Third, the Burmese were not as anti-British as they had been painted, or else had changed their minds after sampling Japanese rule. Of course Wingate is a man who gets along better with native races, whom he respects, than with his army superiors. He had the wit to take with him a propaganda section, headed by a Burmese. The natives had many lucrative opportunities to betray the British, but instead helped them.

What Wingate is doing at the present moment is not disclosed. The way he cut through Burmese jungles encourages one to hope that he is continuing to cut through military red tape, and will return to bedevil the Japanese in his own brilliant, fanatical way.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

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DRAMA

I WASN'T going to mention "Decision" (Belasco Theater) because I thought it crudely conceived, execrably written, and for the most part ineptly performed. Frankly I didn't think the play could last as long as it takes to get a *Nation* review into print, and I see no point in kicking a bad play when it's down. I still doubt that "Decision" would have lasted as long as it has if most of the drama reviewers had not rushed in with phrases of praise which could easily be extracted, for advertising purposes, from the reservations that accompanied them.

The reviewers were motivated no doubt by a worthy purpose—"Decision" purports to deal severely with the coming American fascism—but to drum up a bad play for that reason, or for any other, seems to me of very doubtful value in the fight against fascism. There is something disturbing as well as ridiculous about the spectacle of a whole row of drama critics leaning over backward and burying their heads in the sand. (It was a great relief to find Wolcott Gibbs still upright.) And isn't it faintly ironical that the hero of "Decision" is a hero because he insists on sticking to his last?

As a matter of fact, the melodramatic events in "Decision," in which a courageous high-school principal gets murdered for opposing the "interests," have no more—if no less—relation to fascism than, say, the murder of Frank Little in Montana several decades ago or the current persecution of John Longo by Mayor Hague. The coming American fascism may be identical with old-fashioned American reaction, but I for one suspect it will be more subtle in form and content. And certainly a convincing and effective play about the subject would have to be a great deal more subtle—on both counts—than "Decision."

MARGARET MARSHALL

RECORDS

THANKS are due both Victor and Columbia for issuing recordings of important works that music-lovers in this country have had little or no opportunity to hear.

Columbia's contribution (Set 544; $3.50) is Mozart's Piano Concerto K.414, which is smaller in scale than some of his other concertos but is written in their idiom and style, and which has a first movement that is characteristic in its mingled grace, poignancy, and gaiety, and an affecting slow movement, but a weak finale. Kentner's performance of the solo part is musically intelligent, though occasionally overpercussive; the orchestral part is beautifully done by the London Philharmonic under Beecham. The recorded sound is clear but not bright—which may be because the treble is too weak for the heavy bass; the surfaces of my copy are poor.

Victor gives us (Set 954; $2.50) Nos. 1 and 3—"Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps"—of the orchestral "Images" by Debussy, of which No. 2 is "Ibéria," one of the greatest of his works. "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps" are smaller than "Ibéria," but are written in its densely polyphonic, harmonically rich and subtle orchestral idiom. The idiom is especially rich in "Rondes," where it is fascinating in itself, but also lends itself wonderfully to the purposes of an "image" of spring. "Gigues" is less impressive at first; but after several hearings one may be struck by "the capacity for investing an apparently insignificant and lighthearted tune with an almost tragic significance" that Constant Lambert, in his book "Music Ho!," finds in all three pieces, after pointing out that the original title of this one was "Gigue triste." Monteux's performances with the San Francisco Symphony seem excellent, and are recorded with great beauty of the over-all sound, in which individual strands of the polyphony are sometimes not clearly audible. Only one surface of my copy is noisy.

Other Victor records which I have played thus far include a single disc (11-8528; $1) with the great Fugue in E flat for organ (often referred to as the "St. Anne") that concludes one of the volumes of Bach's "Klavierübung." It is usually played with the equally fine Prelude in E flat that opens the volume; but on the present record we get the Fugue by itself, well performed by Joseph Bonnet, and well recorded up to the last third, where the polyphonic texture becomes unclear. Surfaces are noisy.

On another Victor single disc (11-8580; $1) is the performance of Johann Strauss's "Blue Danube" Waltz by Toscanini and the N.B.C. Symphony that took one's breath away a couple of years ago with its freshness of conception, its buoyancy, fire, and grace. It is recorded with remarkable fidelity to the sound of the orchestra in acoustically hard and reverberant Studio 8H; surfaces are poor. And on still another single (11-8487; $1) is an unfamiliar piece by Haydn, "L'Isola diabitata," which is pleasant to listen to, though not of great consequence. It is well performed by Sevitzky with the Indianapolis Symphony, and excellently recorded; surfaces again are noisy.

Columbia's choice from its catalogue for its February record classic is Fauré's Requiem, performed by French singers and instrumentalists under the direction of Bourmauck (Set 354; $5.50). As before I find this work of Fauré very beautiful; and I continue to prefer this sensitive and clearly recorded performance to the one in Victor Set 844. In this set too surfaces are poor.

Having only now received Decca's set (359; $5) of music from "Oklahoma," I can report that the delightful Rodgers tunes and Hammerstein lyrics are sung as well by Celeste Holm, Lee Dixon, Alfred Drake, and all the others of the New York company on these records as on the stage, and that the performances are excellently recorded. Present-day surfaces being what they are it is a surprise to find most of those in my copy quieter than average, and only a very few noticeably noisy.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Action Tomorrow
A commentary on recent books by Archbishop Spellman and Monsignor Sheen
By G. A. Borgese

Konrad Heiden's "Der Führer"
Reviewed by Leopold Schwarzschild

Euclides da Cunha's "Rebellion in the Backlands"
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TO THE MEN in the Armed Forces

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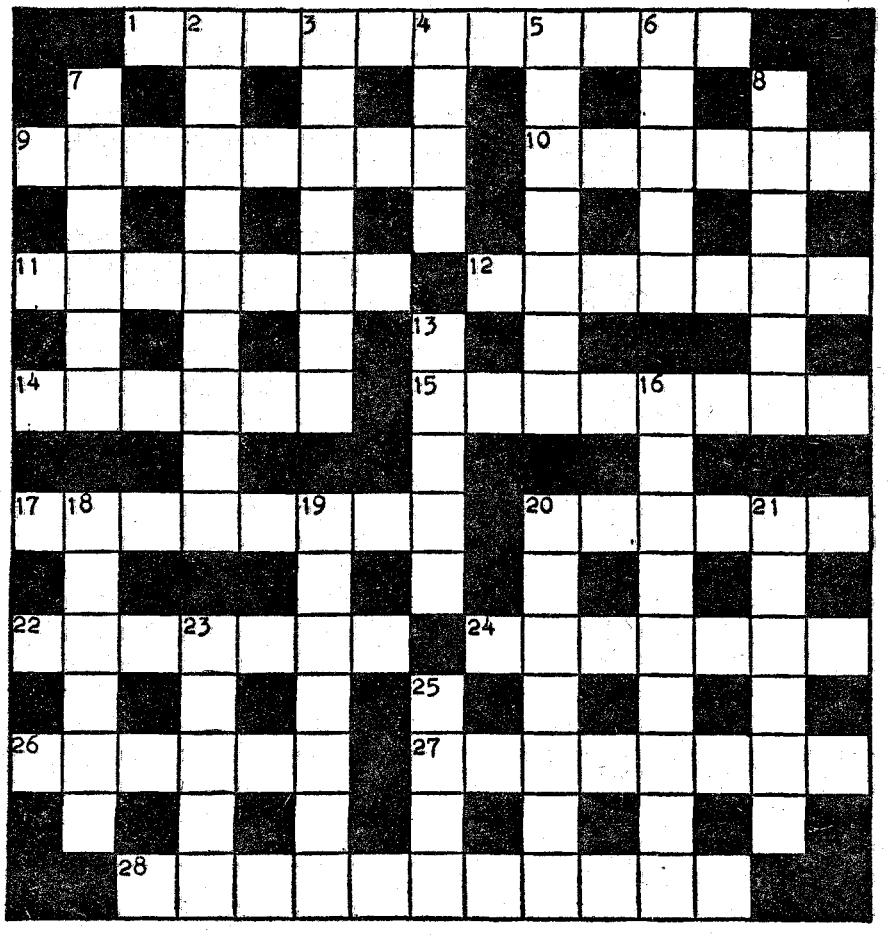
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 52

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 As a fugitive or his trousers might be (two words, 4 and 7)
9 Just the girl to run away with a writer!
10 They advance backwards
11 Fringe of the Rame clan?
12 The winding course of Cockney courtship
14 Perhaps this ensemble from "Lucia di Lammermoor" is a favorite of yours?
15 Thrown into the shade perhaps
17 They require looking into for the future
20 Bring forward, with Signor Mussolini bringing up the rear
22 Opens out
24 What a tractor does in reverse?
26 Thanks to a ruler, it is quite attractive
27 A disturbing person
28 He doesn't correct his own mistakes, a man of this type! (hyphen, 5 and 6)

DOWN

2 "Arrest Abe!" (anag.)
3 If you make one of yourself, you can't complain if others wipe their boots on you!
4 Done effectively by a Scot very merry or sober
5 They cross the avenues in New York
6 Angelina sued him for breach of promise in the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta
7 Males come first in this household
8 "Without a -------, without a tide, She steadies with upright keel" (Ancient Mariner)
13 Richard III offered his kingdom for one
16 It is not wise generalship to --------- the enemy
18 Ran down with Dan for a spree
19 A brisk movement in music
20 Never lost a war, or won a conference, according to Will Rogers
21 Bird which lays other birds' eggs, or something
23 Rosie in a tree!
25 A beastly place

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 51

ACROSS:—1 SESAME; 5 COPECKS; 10 SIDE ISSUE; 11 NYLON; 12 EIDOLON; 13 SUCCEED; 14 SPEAR; 16 INELASTIC; 18 UNPOPULAR; 20 WORTH; 22 MOONEYE; 24 HALIDOM; 26 TRIBE; 27 BRITISHER; 28 DONATED; 29 GEMINI.

DOWN:—2 ENDED; 3 A HITLER; 4 ESSENTIAL; 5 CREWS; 6 PANACEA; 7 COLLECTOR; 8 SYNODIC; 9 USHERS; 15 EXPLOSION; 17 EARTHLING; 18 UNMATED; 19 PRESENT; 20 WILLIAM; 21 HOMERS; 23 EMBED; 25 DEHAN.

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